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MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE
VOL. II.



Alphinstone

LIFE
OF
THE HONOURABLE
MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE

BY SIR T. E. COLEBROOKE, BART., M.P.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. II.

WITH PORTRAITS AND MAPS

LONDON
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1884

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THE HISTORY OF INDIA. The Hindu and Mahometan Periods. By the Honble. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE. *New Edition*. With Notes and Additions by E. B. COWELL, M.A., late Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge University.

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PORTRAIT OF MR. ELPHINSTONE, FROM THE PICTURE BY

PICKERSGILL IN THE POSSESSION OF THE ORIENTAL CLUB *Frontispiece*

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LIFE

OF THE HONOURABLE

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CHAPTER XII.

THE CHASE, 1817-1818.

GENERAL SMITH'S DECISION—THE PESHWA DRIVEN FROM POONA—THE
PURSUIT—SKIRMISHING—COREGAON—LORD HASTINGS' INSTRUCTIONS—
MORE SKIRMISHING—UNION OF THE FORCES—FALL OF SATTARA, AND
BATTLE OF ASHTEE—SIEGES—RETURN TO POONA—CORRESPONDENCE.

WHILE the crisis was approaching at Poona, General Smith had advanced to the Godavery with a fine force of three brigades of infantry and one of cavalry, waiting for orders to take a part in the campaign on the Nerbudda. The misgivings which he had expressed at the beginning of the month were increased when he arrived at the frontier, disturbed by Trimbukjee and his insurgent forces; and these apprehensions were enhanced by the reports which reached him daily from the Resident of the state of things at Poona. On October 30 he wrote: 'If my hands are not tied up, as they are by Sir Thomas's instructions, I should think we ought to concentrate on the left bank of the Godavery, lest matters should require us in your neighbourhood.' On the following day he received official orders to prepare to advance upon the Nerbudda. The gallant General's reply was prompt. The responsibility thrown upon him was very painful; but, with his knowledge of the critical state of things at Poona, he decided, at the hazard of interrupting the general plan of

operations, to withdraw his advanced postings from the Ghauts and concentrate his forces at Fooltumba, a little in the rear of his present position, arranging at the same time with the Resident that, if he did not hear from him daily, he should conclude that the communication was cut off, and that something unfavourable had happened, and he would immediately move upon the city.

On November 1 he wrote: 'The want of discretion from the Commander-in-Chief has perplexed me a good deal; yet I could not be so ignorant of the public interests as to hesitate, and I have taken the liberty to use a copy of your private letter in a personal address to his Excellency, copy of which I now enclose for your information. If you will fully explain what I have decided upon—and which I trust and hope is for the best—in three days I shall be in a condition to move upon you if required, in ample strength to meet anything. But I shall not leave the Godavery unless I cease to hear from you, and have undoubted information of your being attacked. This I think you will approve, as my advancing without some positive act of hostility might embarrass your future political proceedings, and might not be acceptable either at headquarters. In the meantime I have neglected nothing of a precautionary character. I have written to detain extensive arsenal supplies on their way from Bombay without escort, and to stop also all officers coming to join in the same circumstances. . . . I hope anxiously you will approve all I have decided upon, for I am somewhat alarmed lest the Commander-in-Chief should take offence at my having used a discretion which he has never authorised.

'Believe me, &c.,

'LIONEL SMITH.'

The letters of the following day show the struggle passing in the General's mind between his unwillingness to interfere with the general operations of the army and his fear lest, by obeying orders, he should defeat the whole plan of the campaign. 'I was half inclined,' he wrote, 'on the 4th to start south when I got no letters; but I saw there were Poona letters that you had

moved the brigade, and things were not worse, so I stood fast. I hope you may get my hands untied.' On the 4th Mr. Elphinstone wrote:—

'My dear General,—I was delighted with your resolution on the question of moving forward, and with all your arrangements. If you do not hear from me again within four hours, move on to Poona as fast as you can. I have sent to tell the Peshwa that, if he does not discontinue some appearances of menace and insult, we must resent it; and that, if again his troops press on ours, we must treat them as enemies. I have not received the answer, which will probably be critical. I write beforehand to be sure of the communication.'

The General's hands were now untied. He received the express near midnight of the 5th, and he commenced the march on the following morning. There was now open war; and after three days' march the enemy's cavalry began to close around them, and compelled the force to move compactly and slowly; and it was not until the 13th that it reached the scene of action. The Peshwa's army had now changed its position, and occupied the bank of the river below the Residency, near Gurpeer, the position of the old British cantonments. Some show of resistance was made to the passage of the ford on the 16th; but when the force advanced to the attack on the following morning they found the camp evacuated, and the Peshwa had abandoned his capital for ever.

The first care of the conqueror was to protect the city, which now lay at the mercy of our soldiers, exasperated by a series of outrages referred to in the despatch which follows:—

(To Lord Hastings.)

'After the flight of the army General Smith took measures for reducing the city of Poona, if necessary, and for saving it, if practicable, from the fury of our troops. This had long been an object of great anxiety to General Smith, and the consideration of it had entered into all his plans for the defeat of the army. The plunder and destruction of our Residency and

cantonments, the losses of many of the Sepoys, the disgraceful circumstances of the murder of the officers at Tulligaum, the massacre of the wives of the Sepoys who had fallen into the enemies' hands on the 5th, the mutilation of a Sepoy who had been taken prisoner while straggling from General Smith's line of march, and many acts of impotent rage on the part of the Peshwa's Court, had raised the indignation of the men to the highest pitch, and they did not conceal their eager desire to revenge themselves by sacking and plundering the enemy's capital. In this state of the feelings of the army, it appeared difficult to save Poona in any circumstances, and impossible in the event of resistance. To obviate the last danger, General Smith and I sent letters in duplicate flags of truce to the Peshwa and Gocla, offering to protect the town, if evacuated, and warning them of the consequence of holding out. One copy was carried on to the Peshwa and Gocla, who promised an answer, but never sent it; the other was given open to the person in charge of the Peshwa's fortified palace, who promised an answer by noon. Before he arrived Hurree Rao, the banker generally employed by the Company, came to solicit protection for the bankers and merchants, and offered to establish our guards in the city. In this he succeeded, though some contemptible preparations had been made for defence. Guards were posted at the four principal public offices, and the Peshwa's palace, which may be considered as the citadel of Poona. Every arrangement was made by General Smith for the security of the place. Some trifling excesses were committed in the suburbs before there was time to take precautions; but the city suffered no injury, and the loss of property was quite insignificant. Considering all circumstances, the forbearance of the troops deserved high admiration. General Smith's success in protecting Poona is attended with very important advantages, tending to maintain our general reputation, and to conciliate friends in the present contest, and as preserving a very fertile source of supply both of money and of commodities for the army.'

And now commenced a chase that lasted till Bajee Rao's

final surrender to Sir John Malcolm six months later. The force that rallied round the fugitive consisted of the feudal retainers of those Jageerdars who remained faithful to him and a portion of his regular force. He was deprived of the greater part of his artillery by the prompt action of General Smith, who sent a detachment to overtake the guns; but the rest of the Mahratta army moved with celerity, and for several weeks set at naught the efforts of the British force to overtake them.

When Lord Hastings heard of the critical state of things at Poona at the end of October, Sir T. Hislop was instructed to prepare for the worst, and direct General Pritzler, who commanded the reserve force in the Deckan, to co-operate with General Smith in case of hostilities, and at the same time Mr. Elphinstone was vested with full powers to deal with any emergency that might arise. These instructions did not reach him for several weeks, and he felt some hesitation at first about instructing General Smith in the conduct of the military operations. On the 15th, two days before the attack on the enemy's position at Poona, he wrote to Adam as follows:—

‘We have not yet settled any plan about the Peshwa. In fact, I have no orders from Sir T. Hislop, whose letters take as long to reach me as Lord Hastings, and I can have none till he has consulted with Malcolm, which takes as long again; and, after all, neither knows much of the state of this part of the country. If I were to venture to act for myself I should urge General Smith to beat the Peshwa's army; form a light division to dash at the cavalry which would remain after the infantry was dispersed; lay siege to any fort he withdrew to, and then grant him terms founded on grounds in many respects diametrically opposite to what Malcolm calls the confidence system. This I think might be accomplished in three months, if nothing else breaks out abroad, and if none of the existing disorders run in upon us, the Pindarrees for example. It seems likely, however, from all the troops being withdrawn from the Deckan, that all the Pindarrees will repair thither as the only place of safety. Even then they will do very little harm, as they will oblige us to bring back troops and soon set

all to rights. I hope Sindia is steady. You have a fine army and undivided authority up there. Here the state is out of joint in many ways.'

It was expected that the Peshwa would take refuge in one of the strongholds in his dominions, and it was not thought advisable at first to move without heavy guns. These proved a serious encumbrance to the pursuing force. When, however, Mr. Elphinstone found himself invested with full power for the conduct of the war, he instantly wrote to Pritzler urging him to move on Punderpoor.

To General Munro he wrote at the same time pressing him to move on Merich in the southern Mahratta country. It would be desirable, he said, to treat the country under the Peshwa and Gocla as hostile; the other Jageerdars should be treated as friendly. He adds, 'If you should hear from the Resident at Hyderabad that the Peshwa's example is likely to be followed in the Nizam's country, I should consider it advisable for you to turn your attention towards the comparative deficiency of troops in that quarter. It is of more importance to prevent disturbances breaking out there than to quell them speedily after.'

To General Smith he wrote:—

'For the speedy conclusion of the war it appears more effectual to act against his Highness's person than to take his forts, reduce his country, or detach his Sirdars by separate operations. If the Peshwa can be taken, or so pressed as to be induced to submit, we shall be able to dictate our terms, and even if our pursuit of him should not be attended with this complete success, it will greatly contribute, by reducing his power and lessening his reputation, to the attainment of the other objects just alluded to.'

This letter was written on December 6. The plan of the campaign could not be carried out till the junction was effected with Pritzler's force two months later.

The nature of the conflict in which our troops were now engaged will be illustrated by some extracts from Mr. Elphin-

stone's journal, which he resumed towards the end of the month. The new volume opens with the following entry :—

'Court at Deoor, north of Sattara. Nov. 28, 1817.—My last journal ended, as it began, with my peaceful residence at the Sungum. I now go on with the war, undismayed by the loss of so many of my former volumes.'

To explain what follows, it may be sufficient to state that the Peshwa fled south to Sattara to secure the possession of the person and family of the titular head of the Mahratta empire. From thence he moved westward to Punderpoor, and turning suddenly to the north he literally walked round the British force, and formed a junction with his old minister, Trimbukjee, who occupied the strong country north of Poona, the approaches to which were blockaded by his forces. General Smith, encumbered by heavy guns and heavy baggage, had to fight his way through the passes that lead to Sattara, and finding it impossible to overtake his agile adversary, he deposited his encumbrances at the old cantonment at Seroor, and pushed forward to cut off the Peshwa from the north, and with the hope of bringing him to bay. Nothing of the kind occurred. For a time it was uncertain whether the Mahratta forces would descend to the Concan and encounter the Bombay forces that hemmed him in to the west, or advance on his own capital, which was slenderly guarded. He chose the latter course, and when within ten miles of Poona he encountered a single battalion that was moving on Poona to reinforce Colonel Burr's small force. The engagement which ensued formed one of the most remarkable incidents of the war.

'Camp at Poossa Soulee. Dec. 1.—Marched at six. Nothing remarkable except that the General ordered two men to be hanged for stealing sugar-cane, and then pardoned them. Country as before, barren stony hills, and not green, well-wooded valleys intermixed with bare and poor downs. The villages pretty, and not deserted. The enemy at the rear; but this hardly deserves mention, as it is no longer new, and is quite insignificant. The Moe Pass to-day scarcely a pass at all.

On arriving here we found the Peshwa had turned east, and General Smith is forming a light division to pursue him.²

'*Dec. 2.—Halted.* Light division given up—we have but 4,200 infantry, which would not allow of two divisions in the field, and, after thinking of depôtting the park,¹ that also was dropped. Some camels carried off. Gocla is off after the Peshwa, and the party from the rear passed on to our front, sweeping these camels as they went.'

'*Camp at Myan, 17½.* *Dec. 3.—*The country much barer and poorer than before; more of the downs, and less of the valleys. Three fox-chases on the line of march, and one trip out with a detachment of infantry and auxiliaries. The enemy's horse were very near, but did not attack us, and were too strong for us to attack. We galloped after a few fellows with about twelve of our own, but to no purpose. Letters from Hindustan and instructions. Treaty with Meer Khan.'

'*Camp at Zeira, 15½ miles.* *Dec. 3.—*Marched as usual. The country of the same character as yesterday, but worse. We passed a very low ghaut near Kulledhon and entered Maundars. We met to-day with three hamlets deserted, the first time since the war began. The potail of another village also showed himself ill-affected. Nothing remarkable on the march. Gocla was said to be within four miles of our ground with 10,000 horse. Macdonald and I rode out to look after him, but from the nature of the ground we could not see far, though we rode two miles from the lines. I was then engaged in trying to catch a mare of an auxiliary which was running towards the enemy; it took us long, and we failed after all. I got to my ground about four, and found my tent nearly pitched. Read Orme.'

'*Camp at Diggahee on the Mawn, 14½ miles.* *Dec. 4.—* Marched at half-past eight, before breakfast. Wrote instructions for General Smith. The country poor, bare, and bleak, covered with dry grass. Some brooks, however, were passed, with oleanders in full bloom. Shortly before we reached our ground, much rocketing and firing were observed, and reports were

¹ Battering-train.

brought that the enemy were very daring, that Colonel Cox had his horse wounded, that a cavalry horse was carried off. People began to talk of the rear guard being in danger, and some one went to suggest to the General to support it. The General was observed from the hill where we were to set off with a squadron of cavalry, and I went to overtake him. When we got to the rear, we found Spiller formed; he had four men wounded. The enemy were not far off, but out of musket shot, and a round or two of the galloppers sent them still further. They were nowhere in solid bodies, and yet not quite scattered; but showed loosely over the heights, and among bushes. At eight, Spiller got leave to charge, and advanced at a moderate pace, attending to the order of his line, which was often disturbed, more out of impetuosity than anything else. The enemy moved off to the right, where they had a great body, and the General, who was following with a squadron, halted us. I rode over towards him with Tovey, and found him returning; on which the enemy pressed on, firing as they advanced, and driving in the small party of troopers with whom we were; but the General was persuaded by Tovey, whom I sent to him, to bring back the squadron, and form it on the height; all which time the enemy were quite steady, but a few rounds of the galloppers sent them off, and we returned undisturbed to join the line, which had been advancing all this time.'

'*Camp at Mora, 13 miles. Dec. 6.*—Marched at half-past six. The same miserable country, neither hilly nor stony, but bare and poor—there are trees in some little valleys. No adventures on the march, but at the end Gocla appeared on our left and rear with about 5,000 horse. The Peshwa has gone from Punderpoor, N.E., to Curcum.'

'*Camp at Punderpoor, 15½ miles. Dec. 7.*—Marched at six. In consequence of Gocla's threats we marched almost in square, the flanks well protected with cavalry and infantry, and the auxiliaries in front and rear of the baggage. The country as yesterday till we got within a few miles of Punderpoor, when there were more signs of cultivation. Before half way we saw large droves of bullocks, which was quite an adventure now, but

they were driven off by the inhabitants; afterwards a little party of auxiliaries went out and seized thirty. About half-way the Peshwa's troops came in sight on the rear and the right of the rear. They seemed to be 6,000 or 7,000 strong. They were in three or four solid bodies, which kept at a very great distance, probably three miles; while a great many single men advanced within different distances, the nearest 250 or 300 yards. These thickened about the rear, firing their matchlocks—occasionally rocketing, in spite of the riflemen, who were not at all successful. At length a ball wounded the General's orderly's horse, a rocket fell in the very midst of the cavalry and wounded a man and a horse, and Tovey descried three rocket-camels within reach. It was resolved to charge them, and away went the General with the cavalry (three) troops, and a galloper. I was then in the rear of Johnston's horse, but hearing of what had happened, I set off and had very hard riding to come up, and some fear of being cut off by the enemy. I passed a gun overturned, and thought of the insecurity that would result from the accident. When I joined they had come up with the camels. Russell, Pottinger, and Grant had dashed at them, and were fighting for them with some of the enemy's horse. The cavalry was halted, and immediately divided into two parties. The one on the left charged, and that on the right, where the gun was and which had just joined, came on at leisure as a reserve. The left division charged with great spirit; a body of the enemy, however, formed up to it, and showed a pretty determined countenance. As they advanced to meet the left division we came on the right flank, and at this moment the General halted. This was very injudicious. We saw the left division halt and begin to fire their pistols. I thought, and I think that was the opinion of us all, that they had halted of themselves. This must have discouraged the men of our division, for several officers expressed uneasiness, and one alarm. There was indeed ground for it, for the body in front of us stood firm and their balls whizzed round us in great numbers, and on our right the plain was covered with other horsemen, who were very numerous, though not very compact.

At this moment the left division retired on ours by order, and came in, as was natural, in haste and confusion, followed by the enemy, shouting, with their lances at rest. The right squadron was astonished, but not unsteady; the men of it moved on and checked the enemy with their pistols.² The left division also formed rapidly and pistoled. This checked the enemy, who stopped at a short distance and fired, while Captain Bruce was sent to bring up the infantry. At this moment an injudicious word of command to retreat, unauthorised by General Smith, had nearly lost all. As it was, the cavalry was brought back instead of the infantry being brought forward, which was dangerous; but the fire of the infantry, though not more than twenty men, and these unsteady, checked our enemy. We remained unable to retreat, waiting anxiously for the recovery of the overturned gun, when Captain Tovey, who had most prudently ridden back the moment before the division of the cavalry, appeared with a gun of the horse artillery, followed by two companies of the rear guard, running on at full speed and without any order. The gun opened on the enemy close at hand, yet they did not show much panic. The infantry afterwards came up, but did not fire. We were drawing off, but halted to pick up a dead trooper, whom Bullamore put on a litter, and at length we drew off, without being insulted or molested by the enemy. Though this was certainly a very smart skirmish, we only lost one trooper shot, and two wounded—one by a sword and the other by a slight shot. Several had narrow escapes, and Grant's hat was grazed. Hardcastle, who went back for reinforcements, was hotly pursued, and got with difficulty to the rear guard. When all was over we had much

² The pistol was at this time the principal arm of the native cavalry in the British service, and the sword was very little used. Colonel Valentine Blacker, in his *Memoir of the Mahratta War of 1817-19*, alludes to the practice, and says that the experience of many campaigns proves that more execution is done by the pistol than by the other weapon. This he attributes to the ineffectiveness of the regulation sword, blunted by the manner of drawing and returning to the scabbard. The British trooper, trained to cut and slash with a supple wrist can, he contends, with such a weapon make no impression on the quilted dresses and turbans of his adversaries.

laughing and talking over our adventures, all sensible of our past danger, and in spirits with our escape. If the enemy had behaved with tolerable spirit, or if those on the plain had supported the party opposed to us, not a man could have rejoined the line. The original attack was somewhat rash, but the great danger originated in stopping the charge in the middle, and in the hasty return of the left division. I should have thought it safer to go on with the charge, though from the numbers on our right ready to profit by the confusion of a pursuit, the result must have been uncertain. After tiffin and tea, just before dusk, we heard that some Pindarrees and the townspeople had cut up our followers, who went to buy grain. The General ordered out the pickets, a gun, and a howitzer, and went off to shell the town. I, instead of advising him to stop altogether, went to dissuade him from this course. Went down on a foolish errand—incapable of carrying our point if we had been resisted, and liable to be detained till midnight, as we were till near nine.

‘To-day and yesterday, long conversation with Grant, with much complaint and unburthening. At night read Homer, besides Orme, which I read every night. I was very much afraid the Peshwa would go east by Kirmulla, but he has gone north.’

The Peshwa having turned northwards, General Smith recrossed the Neera. While halting on its banks they received tidings from Nagpoor.

‘Dec. 10.—News to-day of an attack on our brigade at Nagpoor by the Raja. At first it seemed like a general confederacy, but rather stimulating than alarming. I thought we might have a volume of Orme to ourselves in this age.’

The treacherous attack on the British force at Nagpoor was the counterpart of that at Poona. Appa Sahib, the reigning Raja, who had recently concluded a subsidiary treaty with the British Government, was in active correspondence with the Peshwa, and when he heard of the outbreak at Poona, assumed a tone of menace, and surrounded the British Residency with his troops. Here, as at Poona, no adequate precaution had

been taken against such a contingency, and less than 1,400 men, all native troops, were available for the defence of the position. The troops took post on two hills of trap formation, flat on the top; one of them was carried by a vigorous charge of the Arabs in the Raja's pay, under the confusion caused by the explosion of a tumbrel, and the British guns were turned on the remaining hill. The affair became critical; but was retrieved by a gallant charge of the cavalry, three troops only, who boldly attacked the masses of the enemy's cavalry who were hovering around. The troops on the hill, excited by the exploit of their comrades below, rushed forward in a confused mass to attack the hill in the enemy's possession, carried all before them, and the day was won. Captain Fitzgerald, who commanded the cavalry, the hero of the day, acted against the express and repeated orders of his commanding officer. He was directed to retire within the enclosure of the Residency, a step that would have been fatal. His brother officers implored him to disobey. After a pause, he gave his decision, 'We will charge them, by God!' The native troopers obeyed the call with enthusiasm, and the charge was made which was decisive of the day and campaign.

'Camp at Taklee on the Beema. Dec. 13.—The General planned a dash at the Peshwa last night, which he laid aside, wisely, I think. Gocla seems to be still near us, instead of attacking our convoys, and the Peshwa is going north, instead of west. We have made many mistakes, but the Peshwa repairs them all. Our mistakes since the war broke out are—not pushing on, on the 5th³—not attacking on the 6th; perhaps not attacking on the intermediate days, but certainly not doing so on the 13th;⁴ not going through with the attack on the 14th (this was the worst of all); making the attack on the 16th by halves, so as to render it indecisive; not leaving our battering train somewhere near Poossa Soulee; doing things by starts, making unnecessary demonstrations, and thinking too much of the enemy. We shall, I think, do better when we

³ Kirkee.

⁴ General Smith arrived on the evening of the 13th.

get rid of our park, but I fear we shall always be liable to be brought up by any difficulties.'

Matters did not improve during the fortnight which follows the date of the last entry. Occasional demonstrations were made against the enemy, which led to nothing. Information reached the pursuers of the course taken by the Peshwa; but Gocla was always in the front, and the force, encumbered by their heavy guns, followed very slowly. Here is a specimen:—

'Dec. 14.—News came that the Peshwa was on this side of the Gore. The General determined to beat him up immediately, but found it could not be done till five o'clock. It was thought better to move at eight, and it was put in orders. It was afterwards, I believe, resolved to send a light detachment under Colonel Milner instead of the greater part of the force, and finally it was dropped. Gocla is within four miles on our road. I trust in the genius and fortune of the republic for a happy termination of this war.'

Dec. 15.—On the following day some of the troops were told off for an attack, but it led to nothing. 'The firing seemed excellent, but nobody was killed.' He adds: 'The Peshwa is at Mandogaon, fifteen or twenty miles west. The Raja of Sattara has joined him, as have the infantry from Copergaon.'

'Camp at Peepulsootee. Dec. 16.—March as usual. General Smith went out with the picket against some of Gocla's people, who appeared on our right. We then went quietly on to the Gore. Large bodies appeared then on our rear; rode up the lines, and got among our old hunting-ground. . . . News from Nagpoor. Jenkins relieved; the Raja has submitted; Malcolm has beat the Pindarrees. A thing struck me on which I have been acting indiscreetly, but have yet time to improve—

"Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia."

The next march brought them to Seroor, the old cantonment; and, after a halt of three days, they struck north for Ahmednuggur. They now lost all tidings of the enemy, and day after day I find notes like the following: "No news of the

Peshwa ; no enemy ; no amusement on the line of march but hunting." The army followed the course of the Pairia river to Sungunmere, an old Mohammedan town in decay, the only noticeable feature in which was a Durgah, with the crescent, an unusual sight even in Mohammedan India. They now recovered the enemy's trail. The Peshwa was twenty miles off at Kettool. New difficulties arose from the nature of the country. The force had to traverse successive spurs of the range of Ghauts, and the guns had at times to be drawn by hand. 'It was the guns and carriages that took all the time, and those drawn by horses took longer, as they were obliged to be taken out and the guns drawn up entirely by hand ; whereas the bullocks, which draw more steadily, were kept in, and helped to get the guns up much. It is surprising to see the overturns and accidents guns and tumbrels bear without being damaged.'

And now occurred the most remarkable event in this war. General Smith had headed the Peshwa to the north, and it seemed probable that Bajee Rao, hemmed in between his force and that of General Pritzler, who was advancing from the south, would descend into the Concan, and some of the force that was chasing him would be required to reinforce the Bombay troops in the west. Colonel Burr, who commanded at Poona, apprehensive that some of his troops would be required elsewhere, ordered a battalion to march from Seroor to support him. This small detachment, not 500 strong, encountered the whole of the Peshwa's army. The gallant action which ensued is described in the extracts from the journal which follow :—

'*Camp at Chakun, about 23½ miles. Jan. 2.*— We marched at twelve or one. The descending Ghaut, though it did require the horses to be taken out, required the drag-ropes, and was followed by a long winding valley. When we arrived here we were fired on from the fort from two or three four-pounders. The Peshwa had driven out our garrison and left 200 Arabs. We have no battering-guns ; the gate cannot be blown open, and the walls are much too high to escalate. The place is therefore left to Colonel Boles. Half the Peshwa's

army is at Poona, half with him at Phoolsheher, attacking the 2/1, which Colonel Burr has very unnecessarily called over to Poona. There was firing heard by the villagers at Poona also. We shall be there to-morrow morning. Went to bed at eight, and during the night received from Colonel Robertson a letter enclosing one from Colonel Burr, which gave every reason to believe that the 2/1 had been cut up or obliged to surrender.'

'*Camp at Corygaon, 18½ miles. Jan. 3.*—In consequence we marched at three for this place. Our impression at starting was that the battalion was destroyed, and that the Peshwa's army, flushed with victory, and aware of our small numbers, was halted, probably on some strong position, to receive us. On the road the reports of the villagers made us more sanguine; and at length a letter from Coats removed all doubt, and relieved us from most of our anxieties. The battalion had taken post, being hard-pressed, and lost two officers killed (poor young Wingate was one of them), and three or four wounded out of eight. Most of the artillerymen were killed, with many of the Sepoys, when the whole were saved by the flight of the Peshwa, alarmed at the near approach of General Smith. This took place yesterday morning after the attack had lasted one afternoon and the whole night. Cunningham had been sent with a detachment to make a diversion, but not to go beyond Wagolee, and it appears that the Peshwa's horse would have prevented his doing so had he been inclined. The Peshwa and all his Sirdars sat on a hill near Phoolsheher, about two miles off, to enjoy the sight of the battle. We passed through . . . and . . .⁵, and in sight of Singhur and the Dunora hills (old scenes which afford a strange contrast to present times), and arrived here about one. I immediately went to the village, and found some wounded sepoy, who could not be removed for want of carriage; we then entered the village, which showed all signs of violence and havoc: the houses were burned, and scattered with accoutrements and broken arms, and the streets were filled with

⁵ Illegible.

the bodies of dead men and horses. The men were mostly Arabs, and must have attacked most resolutely to have fallen in such numbers. There were some wounded likewise, whom we took care of like our own. I suppose I saw fifty bodies within the village, and half a dozen without, which, with the wounded and the dead, who were in places from whence they could be carried away, would make a great amount, not perhaps under 300. About fifty bodies of sepoys were found imperfectly buried, and eleven of Europeans, besides the officers (the Chisholm's body without the head). Our great loss was in a sally, in which almost every man was said to have been cut off. I have been laying plans to-night for the conduct of the war, and shall vest everything in General Smith. I think one head will be best for the public, and he must be that one. I shall leave him quite unfettered to pursue his own plans, only reserving the power of changing the system if our object is not attained.'

'Camp near Seroor, 13½ miles. January 6.—On the road many letters, one announcing great change to me and to all. At Seroor, met Staunton and the officers of the gallant Corygaon detachment. The details are recorded elsewhere. Captain Staunton's first notice of an enemy was the sight of the Peshwa's whole army drawn up on the Beema to oppose him. He made a feint to cross the river, and then turned into the village, occupying all the north side. Soon after they saw bodies of Arabs coming up the river bed, one under cover of the bushes; the others they fired on, and dismounted one of their guns. The rest got in, and after some fighting occupied a great part of the village. There was then incessant firing, and frequent charges. The Arabs did not stand well in the latter, but were excellent shots. All the artillerymen killed were hit in the head. All the men at one gun were killed and the gun taken, but recovered by a charge. Captains Swanston, Conellan, and Wingate were taken in a temple when wounded, but released by a charge. Horse charged into the village, but the great damage was done by Arabs in an enclosure which could not be stormed. Our men could not be

got to storm. The Europeans talked of surrendering. The native officers behaved very ill, and the men latterly could scarce be got, even by kicks and blows, to form small parties to defend themselves. They were sunk under hunger, thirst, fatigue, and despondency. Most that I have seen tried to excuse themselves, and are surprised to find they are thought to have done a great action; yet an action really greater has seldom been achieved—a strong incitement never to despair.’

The account of this gallant action is told with great spirit by Grant Duff. At this season the channel of the river occupied only a small space of the whole bed, so that the village was fifty or sixty yards from the water; access to the river was entirely cut off. The men, fatigued by a long march through the night and without provisions, had to fight the whole day under a burning sun. The sufferings of the wounded became extreme from thirst, and the men were fainting or nearly frantic for want of water. A continued shower of rockets was poured into the village, and many of the houses set on fire. Such were the circumstances under which the trying struggle was carried on. Every foot of ground was disputed. ‘Many of the artillery, all of whom bore a very conspicuous part in this glorious defence, proposed to Captain Staunton that they should surrender if terms could be obtained. His determined refusal did not satisfy them, but Lieutenant Chisholm, their officer, being killed, the enemy, encouraged by this circumstance, rushed upon one of the guns and took it. Lieutenant Pattinson, lying mortally wounded, being shot through the body, no sooner heard that the gun was taken than, getting up, he called to the Grenadiers, “Once more to follow him!” and, seizing a musket by the muzzle, rushed into the middle of the Arabs, striking them down right and left, until a second ball through his body completely disabled him. Lieutenant Pattinson had been nobly seconded; the sepoys, thus led, were irresistible, the gun was retaken, and the dead Arabs, literally lying above each other, proved how desperately it had been defended. The body of Lieutenant Chisholm was found by his gun with his head cut off. Captain Staunton took advantage

of this by pointing it out to the men, and telling them that "such would be the way all would be served who fell, dead or alive, into the hands of the Mahrattas." They declared that they "would die to a man," and the conflict was resumed. Captain Staunton, Lieutenant Jones, and Captain-Surgeon Wyllie were the only officers that remained fit for duty. Their situation towards the evening seemed hopeless. Captain Staunton had apprised Colonel Burr of his position, and an unavailing attempt had been made from Poona for his relief. As the night fell, however, the vigour of the attack was relaxed, and the men were able to procure water. By nine at night the firing ceased, and the village was evacuated by the Peshwa's troops.'

While General Lionel Smith was engaged in this chase, General Pritzler was moving up to his support from the position he assumed south of the Kistna. His progress was slow, and as the force approached the enemy's territory it was surrounded by the enemy's horse and had to make a halt at Punderpoor, waiting the arrival of a convoy that was threatened by the enemy. It was not until January 3 that he commenced his search for the enemy, who after their defeat at Corygaon passed by Poona, and moved again to the south. The narrative of the movement of this force is the counterpart of that which Mr. Elphinstone accompanied. It was sometimes difficult to distinguish between the pursued and the pursuer; for the enemy's horse hung on the rear of the British forces, and impeded their advance. There were occasional brushes with portions of the Mahratta force, but they never turned to bay, and after leading Pritzler southward beyond the Kistna, they doubled back northward, and again came in conflict with General Smith's division, but evaded an encounter.

The two divisions at last formed a junction in the neighbourhood of Sattara, and the war assumed a new character.

On the first commencement of hostilities, Mr. Elphinstone wrote to Lord Hastings that the first efforts of our army should be directed rather against the Peshwa's person than against his country. General Smith's division, which was weak in cavalry

but strong in artillery, was better adapted for the latter service, and as it was not strong enough to undertake the double operation, it carried on the pursuit in the manner which has been already described, against an enemy that sometimes moved at the rate of forty miles in the day, while the British force was considered to have performed a notable feat in having traversed 300 miles in twenty-six days from the day they left Poona till their arrival at Seroor. General Pritzler, in his chase, had gone beyond this, in having performed 346 miles in twenty-five successive days.⁶ Seven weeks had been wasted in unavailing efforts for the union of the two armies. In the meanwhile the Governor-General's instructions had arrived, and they determined the political character of the future campaign.

Mr. Elphinstone had hitherto acted without any special instructions as to the treatment of the Peshwa. He had pointed out to the Governor-General the very severe conditions on which alone the Peshwa could be recognised as our ally, and contented himself with suggesting certain alternative propositions, in case some other member of his family was recognised in his place. When, however, Bajee Rao openly joined his forces to those of Trimbukjee, thus making common cause with the murderer of the Shastree, his restoration on any terms became as inconsistent with our honour as with policy, and it was proposed to endeavour to dissociate the Jageerdars from their sovereign, and set up some other prince whose elevation should show that we intended to maintain the native government, and whose Court should be a rallying-point for all who would abandon Bajee Rao's cause.

It is evident that Mr. Elphinstone was not up to this time (the beginning of January) prepared for so strong a measure as annexation of the principal portion of the Peshwa's dominions, nor did he consider the force at his disposal sufficient to carry it out against a prince who was the rallying-point of the disaffected, and whose army was constantly recruited by the adventurers thrown out of employment by the success of our arms in Central India, and, above all, whose territory was full

⁶ Thacker's *Mahratta War*, pp. 177, 190.

of strongholds that still held out. On the receipt of his instructions he wrote to Sir Thomas Hislop, requesting him to delay giving publicity to them.

‘Camp, Parigaom, January 10, 1818.

‘My dear Agnew,—If the Governor-General’s instructions to me have reached your camp, I beg that the strictest secrecy may be observed regarding them, as I doubt not has already been the case.

‘To accomplish the objects there detailed is quite a different undertaking from merely frightening the P. into moderate terms, and, to be done well, it must be supported by all the force we can muster. We have to pursue an army of horse, increased by all the vagabonds who are losing their service elsewhere, to take forts, and to retain possession of the country occupied. The late settlement of Nagpoor will have disengaged Doveton, and Asseer will soon fall. A great part of Doveton’s force would then, I should think, be disposable, and could not be better employed than here. If indeed any can be spared before Asseer falls, it might be joined to Deacon and Davis, and be made very useful beyond the Godavery. I wish we could spare only one battalion to second General Munro in his excellent plans. Accept my warmest congratulations on the splendid victory in which you have been a partaker. You must not put Assaye out of fashion by your Malwa field-days.

‘Yours most sincerely,

‘MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.’

To Captain Sydenham he wrote on the same day, describing the movements and position of the different forces, adding :—

‘My great object in writing is to beg you will try to seize all Arabs that may try to make their way from Nagpoor to join the Peshwa. Keep them prisoners till we can send them to Bombay. But do what you can to prevent these rascals coming down here to pick off our Europeans in sieges.’

‘Yours most sincerely,

‘M. E.’

The instructions cost him some anxious thoughts. It seemed rash to prepare for the government of a large territory, more than half of which was occupied by feudal chiefs, when the British forces barely held the ground they occupied. Throughout this singular campaign the British troops were in the position of besieged armies, that had no communication with the outer world, except by hircarras or runners that passed through the enemy's lines at the hazard of their lives. The large correspondence that Mr. Elphinstone kept up was written on the smallest slips of paper, rolled up and conveyed in quills or similar modes of concealment. All the letters received are of this character, and are filed in volumes, forming a curious memento of the campaign.

From the date of the receipt of these instructions, Mr. Elphinstone began to make preparations for the civil government. His first act was to seek the advice of Munro, whose reputation was acquired in the civil administration of the newly acquired province after the wars with Tippoo in 1792, and afterward in 1799. The correspondence, which lies before me ranges over the difficult questions that beset the great change from native to European rule, such as the treatment of the Jageerdars, the recognition of rent-free lands, down to the provision for the civil administration of the new provinces.

These were matters foreign to Mr. Elphinstone's past career, and his opinions were gradually matured. They will form the subject of the next chapter. I refer to the subject in explanation of his delay in giving effect to the intentions of the Government. In the meantime the chase was carried on in the old way, and it was not until the junction of the two armies was effected that this decisive step was taken.

General Smith being now unencumbered with heavy guns, moved rapidly in pursuit to the Southern Mahratta country, as far as Meerich, about fifty miles south of Sattara. They were now in the plain of the Kistna, and the enemy began to show in force, evincing some boldness, cutting up stragglers, and pursuing small detachments. At Cowta Mr. Elphinstone wrote:—

‘At first the same highly cultivated plain as yesterday;

afterwards we came to a declivity, and saw below us a plain not more fertile than the other, but more richly adorned with trees, and studded with numerous villages; among them Sanglee was by far the most conspicuous. When seen through a spy-glass, it appeared a flourishing town, adjoining to the large and lofty residence of Chintamun Rao, ornamented with gardens and cypresses. We then went on through other villages; the enemy's horse appeared on our rear, and thickened and pressed on the rearguard, as we approached this village. They came quite close, and wounded young Newhouse and five men. We were to have gone on a few miles further to Tasgaon; but the potail of this village shut his gate on us, and behaved with great insolence. General Smith fired a gun over the town, and sent in the light battalion to take possession of the village. The potail was seized and brought out, and the bazaar opened. In the meantime the enemy closed in on all sides. We cannonaded them in different points. Where I was we had one gun and a howitzer. The enemy stood very firm, but gradually opened their order. Some thought they were going to charge the guns at one time, and more infantry was sent for, then more guns, which by degrees sent them all off. One body of the horse, remarkable for their white turbans, passed off under our fire with great steadiness and composure. A few rockets fell to-day among the baggage, and created a confusion which Tovey likened to the passage of the Beresina. Letters from Poona. Peace with Holkar.

‘Two days later the enemy waxed bolder and the cavalry and horse artillery were detached to cut off a party who had got entangled in a ravine. Large masses of the enemy passed in the same direction, and caused some anxiety. Although I was conscious of their inertness, it was impossible not to feel alarmed at the consequence, if they should become active, and cut off these troops which were perhaps two miles off, and we are quite taken up with our baggage. Our line, when the cavalry was away, looked ridiculously small. They began to rocket off before we moved, but without much success.

‘We proceeded with the old constant sound of sniping,

then more rocketing. Many failed, as they always do. After we encamped, the cavalry came down in great masses in front and rear, and it seemed as if they meant to attack us. A few successful rounds at the party which was nearest made them scamper off without ceremony.'

And so it went on, sniping and ineffectual rocketing and demonstration of the enemy's cavalry, and futile attempts at pursuit. At length, after much dodging through the country and hard work at some of the passes, Generals Pritzler and Smith's forces were united and the war assumed a new character.

'The first meeting was not very auspicious, as it commenced with a dispute between the generals, which, however, was soon adjusted. The conduct of this war was entirely in Mr. Elphinstone's hands. The Deckan division under Pritzler was withdrawn from General Hislop's command, and the whole placed under Mr. Elphinstone's orders.'

Under the new plans for the campaign, the united forces moved south to Sattara. Importance was attached to the acquisition of this old stronghold, and it fell, almost without a blow. A proclamation was then issued announcing the fall of the Peshwa's Government, and the annexation of his territory to the British dominions, reserving a portion for the Sattara family. This was accompanied by an assurance of respect for religion, reservation of all pensions, enams, lands, provided the holders withdrew from the service of Bajee Rao.

Under the new distribution of the forces, General Smith undertook the pursuit of the Peshwa, while Pritzler attacked the hill forts south of Poona. In the meantime General Munro was carrying all before him in the south; a force detached by General Hislop moved down from Candeish, while the Concan was guarded by two small divisions from Bombay. The Peshwa hemmed in on all sides was brought to bay within ten days from the fall of Sattara. General Smith, who was strong in cavalry, and lightly equipped, moved with great rapidity, and came up with the remains of the force that still clung to the fortunes of the Peshwa at Ashtee, a place about

a hundred miles due east from Poona. In the affair which ensued, Gocla, who commanded the Peshwa's forces, despairing of his master's fortunes, charged our cavalry and was killed in the encounter, together with some other persons of distinction. The Peshwa's troops were dispersed, and the Raja of Sattara, to the custody of whom a mysterious importance was attached, fell into the hands of the pursuers, and was made over to Mr. Elphinstone's charge.'

Bajee Rao now became a fugitive on the face of the earth. He was deserted by his greater feudatories, and fled to the Nagpoor territory; but Appa Sahib was now a prisoner; matters had been settled with Holkar after the battle of Mehidpore in the previous December, and the Pindarree campaign had now degenerated into a hunt of these freebooters and the reduction of some important fortresses. Bajee Rao did not surrender to Malcolm till the beginning of June. Long ere this the reduction of the strongholds that held out for the Peshwa had been accomplished, and the Raja of Sattara had been installed in the seat of his ancestors.

'Before Sattara, about 12 miles. Feb. 10.—Descended into the delightful valley of Sattara, passed the fine village of Maholee. The high banks are crowded with flights of stone steps and crowned with temples among trees. In the bed of the river under a temporary shed of bamboos was the place where Sahoo Raja was burned, marked by a stone ling, plain and humble. Marched on to Sattara. No firing from this place. Examined it well. It seemed strong from a ledge of naturally scarp'd rock, 30 or 40 feet high all round. There was, however, much masonry about the gateway, which we hoped to breach. The town is handsome and large, though straggling and among woods. The valley in the hills on which it stands is lovely. The fort is not without some majesty, if Mahratta history afforded very interesting associations. The park not being up, we came to our tents. After tiffin went against the place with two 5½-inch howitzers. Threw a few shrapnels over the gate, when we saw a white cloth waving, and out came a Vakeel. He said the place had before been

summoned and the Killadar had sent a civil answer that he must wait for orders. He now repeated his wish, but said, as we were in a hurry, he would give it up if the garrison were allowed to go with their property and arms, wives and children. We agreed, and he was to give us up a gate. Only, he begged to go back first and take orders. He was to make a sign when our terms were agreed to. The sun set, and no sign. We therefore threw two or three more shells, which brought the signal. The Light Battalion went up, and were to fire three muskets when they got in. We waited till after dark, and no signal. At length we found they demurred about opening the gate. The General ordered the Light Battalion to be recalled, and talked of hanging the Vakeel. We rode home, and were quitting the town, when we heard one musket, then another, and another, and found Sattara was our own.'

'Camp, Sattara, Feb. 11. — Went at daybreak to see the fort. The hill is about 1,200 feet high, sloping, and easy of ascent till near the top, where there is a line of rock 40 or 50 feet high, and quite perpendicular all the way round, except at the gateway. The weakest point, as it stands, is the gateway on the side furthest from the town. It is now built up, but people can go up and down to the right of it (as you go down) without much difficulty. The other gateway can also be taken by breaching the tower to the right of it (as you go down), and the second gateway, which lies behind and above the town. This Colonel Dalrymple thinks the best point of attack. There is also on the third side a place where a piece of the rock is parting from the rest, and has left a cleft between, through which I think people could ascend. Part of this rock near that cleft, and on the left of it (looking from the fort), is less steep than the rest. The fort itself is of less extent than I expected. It is triangular, with a spit projecting from one of the angles. It contains a tank, some huts, a magazine (seemingly bomb-proof), and several store-houses. There are upwards of thirty guns, almost all unserviceable (three belonged to Gocla's field establishment). The Raja's present house is small but neat, and has one handsome apartment, in which is the throne of the

Raja of Sattara (it was said at the place to be Sivajee's), but I have since heard that it is at Ryghur, and that Sahoo's is in the Pettah, and is *poojaed*⁷ to. This is of lacquered wood, with a back and large brocade cushions. This house was built by the present Peshwa nine years ago, and left incomplete on account of the expense. The old house of the Raja is far inferior, and the durbar, where the present Peshwa was invested, is a long, low verandah, supported by smoky wooden pillars. This house, I hear, has only been occupied since the imprisonment of the Raja. Before they always lived below. The view from the front is beautiful—on both sides rich and wide valleys, and on this side the town and its trees, the plain of the Kistna diversified by wood and by glimpses of the windings of the river and the hills beyond. There is a sort of summer-house of the Raja's from whence this view is seen.

'There was no violence on the part of our people in the town. The line and garrison joked with each other as the latter was marching out.

'At noon we hoisted our flag for a moment, then pulled it down and hoisted the Raja's. I have given out that this is to be the capital of a "sovereignty" sufficient for the comfort and dignity of the Raja.

'In the evening I received all the Raja's connections, and explained our views, and intention never to make peace with Bajee Rao. Great troubles about the distribution of the force; they have at length been satisfactorily adjusted.'

'*Camp, Sattara. Feb. 13.*—General Smith marched, and I am with the heavy division with General Pritzler. I forgot to mention that all the great dependants of the Raja of Sattara—the Peshwa, the Prittee Niddee, the Raja of Berar, &c.—have houses in the Pettah, generally small and humble.'

Singhur, a strong fort that is placed on the hills between Sattara and Poona, made a greater show of resistance. It stands on an eminence from 1,200 to 1,600 feet in height, but only partially scarped. After one day's fire by the breaching battery the wall began to crumble away; and the garrison, who

⁷ Worshipped.

had sallied out on the approach of the force, and had hitherto refused to receive all flags of truce, offered to surrender, and capitulated on liberal terms. There was not a Mahratta among them. They consisted of a hundred Arabs, six hundred Gosains, and four hundred Concanees. The Killadar was a boy of eleven; the real Governor, Appajee Punt Sewra, a mean-looking Carcoon. The garrison was treated with great liberality; and, though there was much property and money in the place, the Killadar was allowed to have whatever he claimed as his own.

Mr. Elphinstone now received tidings of the battle of Ashtee. The letter which I subjoin is written on a scrap of paper about three inches by four:—

‘Camp at Ashtee. Feb. 20, 1818.—My dear Sir,—I send off a sort of private account of our good luck, because I really had no time to make out my official one. You will understand the Raja’s family is living with me, and poor Gocla is to be roasted this evening with all ceremony, for he really fought like a soldier. The Raja’s family is rather a nuisance to me; they insist on my not leaving them, and I cannot keep up any useful pursuit with them. They must, therefore, cause a loss of time; and, their great desire being to see you, I entreat you, if possible, to meet me on my way to Poona with Davies’s horse, or what you can be secure with, to relieve me as soon as possible.

‘Yours, &c.,

‘LIONEL SMITH.’

‘March 4.—I reached General Smith’s camp at two. Most of our business was settled in the evening, besides hearing innumerable anecdotes of the battle of the 20th. Cavalry ought never to charge without a reserve. Visited the Raja. He kept up the forms of sovereignty, neither rising nor bowing, but in his language and manners was civil and compliant. He is about twenty; not handsome, but good-humoured and frank. His brothers have nearly the same character, with rather better looks; and his mother is a fine old lady, who has been handsome, and has still very fine eyes. She has good manners, and, it is said, good abilities. The Raja is ill-tented and ill-

attended at present. His gratitude to General Smith, which seemed as unfeigned as his joy at his deliverance, was very engaging.

‘*Camp at^s, 17 or 18 miles. March 6.*—March at ten, having waited till then for the Raja at Jejoory. He stopped to pray, and I went alone to a hill and looked about at the country, and the wide plain, and hills, and trees, with the prospect of wandering over them for some months. The interest of a war and a conquest, and the uncertainty of my future prospects, gave me something of the romantic and delightful sensations that I have experienced in former times. When this war is over I shall be unemployed, and shall probably find my way through Persia and Greece to England. Marched on till evening, and joined the detachment here.’

Poorunder, another hill fort, made a show of resistance like that of Singhur, and did not surrender till the batteries opened fire. Like the other fortresses of the country, it is romantically placed on a spur of the Ghauts. From a slight sketch in the journal, the forts (for there are two) are on the summits of a very narrow ridge, between which is a platform occupied by the pettah. Two hills, half detached from the main ridge, and at right angles to it, were carried, and two howitzers mounted on a peak very difficult of access, and two mortars on another eminence.

The journal proceeds :—

‘The fort fired away, but with little effect ; and there was little sign of a siege, except an occasional shot over one’s head in one’s walks, especially from an old 48-pounder of Don Philip IV. of Spain. On the 15th Wujurghur gave in, and soon after Poorunder, which, however, stickled long for pardon to the murderers of some of our horse-takers, killed in cold blood. This was refused ; and, as Wujurghur commanded Poorunder, it was obliged to give in. On the 16th we went up, inquired into the murder for which the Killadar is detained, and pacified Thatcher, who had been fired on and nearly shot during a party. The way by which the fort was to

have been taken was by escalades. Poorunder would have been breached at the gateway from below. During the siege I went one morning down the Ghaut, close under the fort, and enjoyed a quiet, romantic scene—birds singing, and everything peaceful, though close to a fort besieged.’

From Poorunder Mr. Elphinstone returned to Poona for the first time since the commencement of hostilities.

‘*March 17, Poona, 16 miles.*—I rode in here this morning with Colonel Hewett and a party. I had a small escort of horse, and thought it not unlikely I might meet with some of the Peshwa’s Pindarrees. I am lodged at the palace, and am now seated in the Peshwa’s closet, where our first consultation about the proceedings took place ; and I have been shutting the door, the closing of which on the Sait probably first led to all subsequent misunderstandings. The Peshwa’s great hall is now my reception-room, and the place where we used to meet below is the dining-room. Poona, when approached, is unchanged in appearance ; but the destruction of all our houses destroys every feeling of quiet and home, and the absence of the Hindoo Government occasions a void that alters the effect of everything. Our respect for the place is gone, and the change is melancholy. How must the natives feel this, when even we feel it !

During the week which followed the last entry some half a dozen more of these old Mahratta strongholds gave in.

After their surrender the force attacked the most important of these strongholds in the neighbourhood of Sattara.

‘*March 29.*—Rode through the lower part of the valley of Sattara, which is finer than the upper. Groves of mango trees with bright green leaves ; clumps of cocoa-nut trees, so uncommon above the Ghauts, here and there fine tamarind or peepul trees throwing their deep shade over a temple by the Kistna, and the picturesque hills that surround the whole make this the finest part of the Peshwa’s country, if not of India. The Peshwa has set off for Nagpoor. Generals Smith and Doveton are after him, but at a great distance. It puzzles us a little which way he will return when he finds that the Raja is seized.

The Raja went into Sattara in procession with the pomp of a prince and the delight of a schoolboy.'

'*Camp near Sudoly, before Wassota, 12 miles. April 3.*—Started at daybreak. The Ghaut is now a good open road to the top. The scenery was less romantic, and the fort less alarming than before. The descent was worse than the ascent. I rode down, but could not have done so if it had been a little worse. We then rode along the banks of the Quina—good road, occasionally fine views of the water, bordered with trees and surrounded by woody hills. The scenery was romantic. Coats compared it to Malabar, and General Pritzler to St. Domingo. The grey haze or smoke which our camp throws over everything heightens the beauty of the hills. Our posts were established on the 1st at Old Wassota, where a road is now made for elephants to carry mortars, and at two other places which command the gate. There is but one gun in the fort, which fires seldom, but there is much and good sniping from matchlocks and gingalls, and four Europeans have been wounded. The elephants have been very useful. They carry an eight-inch mortar, which I believe is 10 cwt., with apparent ease over ghauts. We got to our tents about twelve, and about two we set out on horseback for Wassota. Soon after we left camp we entered a valley winding up to that fortress. I left camp pleased with the prospect of so many hours among hills and trees, and I was delighted with the scenery through which I passed. The valley lay between high mountains, and was quiet and secluded, as if no one were within a hundred miles; the sides had a variety of summits and ravines. In some places are craggy rocks, intermingled with trees; in others appeared smooth summits covered with the richest and greenest foliage; in some the jungle was burning, and gusts of smoke driving through the leafless trees; in others the conflagration was over, and there remained only the blackened ground and the scorched trunks. In passing through these forests and blasted scenes one was struck with the contrast of the rich, verdant, tranquil landscape seen through them. Another pleasing contrast was a high, bare, grey moun-

tain, seen over a hillock covered with high and leafy trees. Towards the west of the valley the bottom and sides of the hills were covered with jungle or with tall pine trees, but all the upper part of the mountains was bare rock or withered grass. The whole was closed by Wassota, which seen through the thin smoke seemed vast in itself, and more so to the imagination from the depth of the precipice beyond; while that, again, is exaggerated from the thought of the stupendous parapet by which it is overhung. Wassota is in reality much higher than either Singhur or Poorunder. As we advanced to it we passed through hollow ways overshadowed by trees, and had occasional openings up the beds of streams and shady banks. We passed through a little camp and approached a strong village, stockaded, which if well defended would have caused much loss. At length we began to ascend by a steep walk completely shaded by high trees, and at first romantic and delightful. The ascent was so steep, and continued with so little interruption, that I suffered more fatigue than I recollect on any previous occasion of the sort. At length we gained the top, and went to a mortar battery of sand-bags and heaped earth, well constructed and much too low.

‘From this we saw the fort distinctly—its temple, its numerous thatched houses, its stockades and strange preparations with mats and bamboos, and its groups of unmilitary-looking persons who seem to compose the garrison. We then went to the edge of the precipice that overlooks the Concan, and were struck with wonder and delight at the spectacle which opened on us. The precipice that forms the side of the fort was fully seen, and led us to fancy that immediately below us. Between was a valley of such surprising depth that objects immediately beneath cannot be clearly distinguished. A branch ran out from the foot into the Concan, the sharp ridge and steep side whereof set off the abruptness of the fort, while the distance of the country seen behind increased the sense of the height. Beyond the fort are innumerable high and majestic peaks of all shapes, belonging to the range of the Ghauts. West was the Concan, composed of hill and dale, probably

marked enough when there, but now melted into one mass by distance and haze. We next ascended by a roundabout road, with hard climbing, hand and foot, a part of the stratum of rock that surrounds the upper part of the Old Wassota. We had here the same view, more perfect than before. It is strange the Mahrattas neglected a place of such natural strength and commanding the fort. At length we walked down, and as we went off were treated with a shot from the only gun in the fort. It had fired before more than once, but not at us. We had also seen some rockets thrown, and had been sniped at while looking at the precipice near the battery. The sound of our men's muskets, when taken up by the echo, was so loud and long as to be quite awful. During our walk up the hill, Coats observed the wild pepper vine, which, with the high trees through which we passed in the evening, renewed the memory of Malabar.

'Before Wassota, April 5.—Went at six to Old Wassota. We walked slowly, and had none of the toil of our former ascent. The mortars had commenced before we arrived, and swept every part of the fort except what was covered by a low hill, behind which it turned out there was nothing but the Ranee's house. Some of our shells went over the fort, and lighted at our own northern post. We looked on for a long time at the shelling without any adventure on our side, but that of a shot that came close to Sykes, as we sat on the highest part of the hill, or on the enemy's, except the conflagration of one tower. We then went to walk, and were repaid by the grandest view I ever witnessed.

'We returned home about seven, delighted with our excursion, but surprised at the obstinacy of the Killadar. We hoped the next day's shelling would bring him in, but preparations were begun for bringing two iron twelve-pounders, which would have cost us at least another week.

'Before Wassota, April 6.—In the night the Killadar communicated through the Raja his wish to submit. Early in the morning I set off to assist at the capitulation. After breakfast the General and I proceeded to our centre post, more than

half way up the hill, while a party pushed on to take possession of the gate. Some verbal assurances had been given to a carcoon of the Killadar, that neither he nor his garrison need be under any apprehension. While at the fort we had a view of our imprisoned countrymen⁹ on the works; they had before been seen from the mortar battery, and greeted it with three cheers. From mere spectators they were now welcomed by the hurrahs of the advancing party, which they returned, and were joined by some of the garrison. We climbed up and entered the gate, both walls to the left of which might easily be breached. We soon met the Killadar; afterwards Mr. Hunter and Mr. Morrison, whom we met with the delight of old friends. They had been harshly used at Kangoory, and kindly here. The Killadar was civil, and even respectful in his language, though not always active in his kindness. They knew nothing of our approach till they heard our fire, and were not certain who we were till we opened our mortars. Some of the shells fell in the place where they were shut up, a chilly room, with thick stone walls and a thatched roof. Their furniture answered to their lodging, and they were dressed in jacket and trousers of coarse cotton cloth, and had long beards and moustaches. Their manners were not affected by the strange situation in which they had been placed. They spoke with gratitude of the conduct of their guard, and with great interest in their fate. We went round the fort, which was completely exposed to our shells, the rock being cut away behind the low hill.

‘There was much trouble with Killadar, garrison, prize agents, guards, plunderers, &c. At last we came down. The finest thing I saw was the view on the north.

‘*Camp, Sattara, April 10.*—Marched on Sattara, installed the Raja with a fine procession. I have been obliged twice

⁹ Cornets Hunter and Morrison, of the Madras establishment, were approaching Poona with a small escort of a havildar and twelve sepoy when the war broke out. They were attacked by the Peshwa's troops, and took refuge in a choultrie, which they barricaded and defended for several hours, till their ammunition was expended. The enemy then occupied the roof, and compelled them to surrender. They were confined for nine weeks in the fort of Kangoory, where they were harshly treated, and then transferred to Wassota.

already to circumscribe my plans, from troops being withdrawn, and now must do it once more. Never mind.

‘*April 22.*—General Pritzler marched; left us a very small force to escort so heavy an equipment. The Raja gave me an entertainment in the evening, and after advice and good wishes I took leave, much interested in the brothers, whose concord, simplicity, and attachment to their mother and each other are very amiable.

‘*Camp near Poona, April 25.*—I am pitched here in a fine room they have built for me. I have been busied ever since my removal by the despatch of a detachment against Sheoneree. European and native visits and parties; despatch of urgent business and preparations to receive Sir T. Hislop and his numerous staff, with my very inadequate means. The society cordial and pleasant; trips to see the Peshwa’s gardens. Moraba’s garden struck me when Gopaul Punt entertained Sir B. Close in 1802, and Gocla me in 1815. What extraordinary changes since each of those meetings! The remembrance of the most remote was melancholy. Poor Sir Barry gone, and the system he was labouring to found already swept away.

‘*Camp at Sawal, 30 miles, May 24.*—A continued worry of business ever since my last note, increased by the dispersion of the Peshwa’s army, and the numerous submissions tendered in consequence; a good deal of time also taken up in a controversy with that active and experienced practitioner, General Smith. My residence at Poona, the renewed intercourse between different parts of the country, and the perfect quiet and safety all around, give a decided air of peace to the times. The country, indeed, never showed signs of war, and tillage goes on as formerly; it cannot go on better. Appa Sahib, the Peshwa’s brother, is at Phoolsheher, going to Benares. I am so far on my way to meet General Munro before he quits the country. We travel nearly as in peace.

‘*Sattara, May 29.*—General Munro left us this morning, and I start to-morrow. I have gained a great deal of instruction from him, and have been greatly pleased with his strong practical good sense, his simplicity and frankness, his perfect

good nature and good humour, his real benevolence, unmixed with the slightest cant of misanthropy, his activity and his truthfulness of mind, easily pleased with anything, and delighted with those things that in general have no effect but on a youthful imagination. The effect of these last qualities is heightened by their contrast with his stern countenance and searching eye.

'Camp, Kuraundee, July 11.—I arrived at Poona on the 5th, and left it on the 26th. I was at Phoolsheher in the interim, saw Appa Sahib, and had a day's hog-hunting with Davies. I was two days at Seroor, and seven or eight at Ahmednuggur. I am now half way between that place and Toka, on my way to Candeish. I have at this moment less labour than usual, and am reading "*Lalla Rookh*," pleased with the poem itself, and flattered by its allusions to my travels. My views and intentions have undergone a great change. My idea before I went to Sattara was that I should establish a government in this country before I left it, and that this would take a year or eighteen months. General Munro said I ought on no account to go in less than two or three years; and I had made up my mind to the first of these periods, when some considerations, especially the impatience of the Bombay Government to get possession, and the certainty that they would disregard any plans I established, made me look on the introduction of them as equally wearisome and vain. I then determined to wind up if I could in six months, go home overland, get as a reward for my services here, and compensation for my losses in the Cabul mission, as much as I could save in an equal period out here, and return in Council or to a Government. It is evident that I should lose time, and gain neither money nor reputation by protracting my stay here; and of this I was always aware; though a sense of duty, and reluctance to leave an unfinished undertaking, led me to think of staying. Having once given way to these ideas, and to the hope of soon seeing England, I am quite depressed by some letters of Munro's and Malcolm's, which make me fear I may yet be detained; but still it is quite uncertain.'

On the close of the campaign in the country south of Poona, Mr. Elphinstone joined Colonel Macdonald, who was engaged in reducing the fortresses in Candeish. The object of this trip had reference to the arrangement for the civil government, and the military operations are only slightly alluded to. The country was in a very backward state. There are frequent allusions to the condition in which it was kept by the Mahrattas. As he approaches the Godavery he remarks, 'The villages are ruinous and almost deserted. The only cultivation is close to them. This portion is better cultivated, and the town (Byrapore) is large and looked flourishing. All the country on both sides of the Godavery is admirably fitted for cultivation, but has been waste since the famine in 1803. The effects of this calamity are more conspicuous in this part of the country than in any other I have visited.

'*Caparsee: July 18.*—The country yesterday and to-day much as before described. We observed low hills in front, and soon after we noticed that the water ran north instead of south. I have before remarked that even great ranges of mountains do not always divide the waters. The ridges which do so often lie behind them at no great distance, and the streams break through the mountains. This applies to table-land only.'

In the decayed state of the country there is frequent allusion to the jungly districts they traverse, and where there is jungle there are wild beasts and field sports.

'*August 2.*—We went out hog-hunting, and saw a tiger whose roar made our auxiliaries scamper, and one or two leopards. A tiger was killed on another day, and brought into camp. The country swarms with them.

'*Camp, Corygaon, Sept. 5.*—We are again near Poona. The cholera morbus, which has been rather severe since I last wrote, has left us for these two days. I have cleared off all my arrears, and enter Poona ready to commence a new score.

'*Poona, Sept. 15.*—This is one of those mornings of cool air, clear sky, and pleasurable, which sometimes mark the end of the rainy season. The clouds are few and high, and Sungum is once more in sight. The English papers just received begin

to notice our operations in India, and we are all in hopes of future interesting discussions; but it will blow over, and we shall sink as usual into neglect and oblivion. I have been rather idle since I came into Poona, and have been planning new houses and gardens. I have been introducing regularity into my hours, which I hope will afford me more time than formerly.

‘Oct. 7.—This morning cold and cloudy—the feel of the air, the shade of the light, and the greenness of the country all delightful. I have been writing hard to keep under current business. I read Wilks’s “Mysore”—more interesting and less Gibbonian, and less feeble than the first volume; “Rob Roy”—less tedious, less pathos, and less elevation than the former novels; part of “Childe Harold,” canto four—very inferior in poetry to the former cantos; it is the easy, flowing conversation of a man of genius and of high political turn. I have had letters from home. My relations refused a baronetcy for me—very properly. At first I thought this put an end to all my hopes of further notice, and it gave me no concern, scarce enough to say *οὐ φροντίζω*. On reflection I think my chance of a red ribbon not small. I should like it, but I must not build on it. “Si quid mirabere, pones invitus.” Less prospect of continued disturbance than formerly, though the issue of the war is still uncertain.

‘Nov. 6.—Hard work as usual on current business; little time for general views, and none for studying principles—in Bentham, for instance. Last night I had a party of seventy to celebrate Colonel Burr’s action. I looked forward to it with horror, as I always do to large parties; but it went off very pleasantly, and lasted till half-past nine.

‘Nov. 16.—The whole party went to a dance, and I was left alone at half-past eight. After walking a little in the moonlight I shut myself up in my room, and enjoyed the feeling of entire and uninterrupted leisure, to which I have long been a stranger. The constant bustle in which I live keeps off every sort of ennui and uneasiness, though I sometimes experience a momentary feeling of impatience. I might dread that I shall not be able

again to enjoy idleness and vacancy ; but when I look back to the delight I had in my quiet readings at the Sungum, I think the fear chimerical. I read old journals for an hour, and then took to Bentham. This is certainly a very pleasant time—active, interesting, useful, animated by hopes of the future, and sweetened by fulfilment of former wishes.’

‘*Feb. 12.*—I have to-day received intelligence which seems strange : that I am appointed Governor of Bombay. It gives me no great delight. It strikes out all hope of seeing England for five years at least ; and I look with some dread to so protracted a residence in India. Besides, I leave a new, interesting, active office, for an old-established and regulated appointment ; and I quit the field of expectation and popularity for the difficulties of performance and the envy of possession.

‘*Feb. 18.*—I have been thinking of a trip to Calcutta which unsettles me a little. I did not feel the least unsettled about the report about Bombay.

‘*Feb. 23.*—Last night as I lay awake the following reflections, which I fear are well founded, occurred to me. If I go to Bombay, I must not hope to be near so happy as I have been here. The climate will certainly not agree with me, and I shall have the languor and the irritability which made me so uncomfortable in Candeish. The society will be new and awkward to me—lawyers, merchants, sailors, &c. &c., instead of officers whom I am used to, and with whose ideas I sympathise ; numbers of strangers, and new intimacies. I shall not be able to keep up the constant entertainments I have here, even on a much more limited scale. I shall exceed my means without having much real comfort. My business will be complicated without being interesting. I shall have constant occurrence of business of which I am ignorant, without any being so important or lasting as to compel me to master the subject. To aid me, instead of a staff of my own choosing, and forming part of my own family, I shall have secretaries who will each have his own views, interests, and dependants ; and councillors, who will start objections, point out difficulties, or at least require confirmations, and create delay. I shall have all the trammels

of established custom, and the restraints of English law, the embarrassments of orders from the Court of Directors, and the odium of keeping up economy here, as well as that of occasioning expense in Leadenhall Street.

‘There is but one remedy for all this, and that is strict and conscientious attention to my duty, which will secure me my own approbation, and, in time, will gain me that of others. Justice is the basis of all esteem, and even of all permanent popularity. “Corruption wins not more than honesty.” One honourable path to popularity is to attend to public claims in the distribution of patronage; but this is difficult, as the fear is that in passing over your own friends you only serve those of your advisers. One grand rule is to avoid all promises, expressed or implied. Another, of more general extent, is not to court popularity directly, but to aim at the *esteem* of the public by study and able conduct.’

After the outbreak of hostilities, Mr. Elphinstone had very little leisure for correspondence except what was strictly official; and it has been seen that for several months this was carried on under difficulties, owing to the peculiar character of the struggle. After the fall of Sattara he resumed his correspondence with his friends, and many of his letters discuss the plans he was maturing for the further administration of the conquered country. A limited selection from them will bring this chapter to a close. In the next I propose to deal with the history of this important settlement.

(To Captain Close.)

‘Camp, Mootree Moosa, April 16, 1818.

‘My dear Close,—You desire me to write you a long letter in the old way, and next to an hour’s conversation in the old way I should like no better way of spending the time, but you can hardly imagine how little of that commodity I have to spare. You will like first to hear about politics. The people here received our government with perfect submission, if not with pleasure. There is not the smallest popular feeling against

us, partly no doubt from the hopelessness of resistance, partly also from the hope of good government and anxiety for peace. The Peshwa has gone to Chanda, and if he keeps to the northward I should suppose Sindia would join. It was a pity the grand army was broken up. On the other hand, if Bajee Rao turns on Hyderabad it is not unlikely there will be an insurrection there. If, however, which is most likely, he receives a blow from Adams, Doveton, or Smith, all chance of other states joining him will end; most likely the bulk of his troops will return to plague me, either in the shape of banditti, or recruits for our irregular horse. We must have a little cutting up of banditti before this country is quiet, but on the whole I hope to see all settled within the year, and in another year at furthest to hand over the country to the Government of Bombay. I *must* then go home for want of an appointment; but as to enjoying, &c., there as you speak of, you forget that all the world has not 1,000*l.* a year, though you have. It is hard to say what my future plans may be, and in that uncertainty lies a good deal of the pleasure of my present life. It is really a very pleasant one, the present active and interesting, the future uncertain, but promising. The beauty of it is, that what I formerly wished to do, but durst not, from fear of the bad consequences of leaving a good place, is now become the height of prudence when I have no place to lose. Till I get home I willingly renounce all hope of seeing you, for I should think it worse than insanity for you to return from the Cape. I really am astonished at your proposing it. Wherever you go, do not fail to write to me. There is nothing I ever receive with more interest than one of your letters. I cannot say I *envy* your Ciceronian studies on the voyage, but I *should* envy them if I were idle, and I hope I shall one day partake them with infinite satisfaction by the fireside at home. To return to politics, I have only taken the favourable and what I think the true view of them; but there is something alarming in the great strides we are making towards universal dominion. We never before attempted the complete conquest of a country. Even Mysore was saved from

that fate by the creation of a Raja; now we are doing it here, and seem to be doing it also at Nagpoor. If we succeed, all is well; but if we fail, Sindia goes to war, Holkar rebels, the Sikhs and Goorkhas join in, Hyderabad bursts out. The flame spreads to our provinces; some fundamental point is touched, and our whole empire tumbles down like a house of cards. So far is this from seeming impossible, that if it should happen I am persuaded we shall wonder it did not happen before. In the meantime I hope the day is far distant, and I shall contribute my mite to keep it off by great moderation in the settlement of this country. Write often; *cura ut valeas*, and, above all, *go home*. Break through all foolish resolutions about a certain sum, and do not imitate him—

Qui pauperiem veritus, potiore metallis
 Libertate caret, dominum vehet improbus, atque
 Serviet æternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.

‘God bless you, *vive valeque*,

‘M. E.

‘I enclose a sketch of my plan for the settlement of the Peshwa’s dominions.

‘I wish, before you go, you would write me your view of affairs in India, especially in Hindustan. You talk of Adam and you liberally dispensing praise and censure where they were due. Where were they due? I wish I could do the same for the Deckan, but I must not. Munro, however, is the great claimant to praise for enterprise and talent, and for retaining his zeal and good humour in every circumstance of disappointment and visitation.

‘M. E.’

(To General Munro.)

‘Camp near Poona, May 3, 1818.

‘I really do not see how we are to fill the blank that you will leave. Independent of your military operations and the complete settlement of the Carnatic, with the various political questions that arise from the new circumstances and relations

of the Rajas of Sattara and Colapore and all the Jageerdars, I had calculated on receiving much instruction from you on the management of the rest of the country, either by private communications or in the capacity of a joint commissioner, had your other occupations admitted of it when your military duties were at an end. I now find that you will be quitting the scene at the time when the settlement of the country north of the Kistna will just be beginning; and I really feel some uneasiness at the prospect of undertaking alone a task on which so much is to depend. I still look a good deal to the communications which you may make to Mr. Macdonnell as he passes, and to that gentleman's experience of the system that you have introduced elsewhere. It would be easy to get rid of an operation in which I have so little experience as the settlement of a country, by making it over as soon as conquered to the Presidency under which it is to remain; but I am convinced this would not answer. We have never seized on a whole country at once, but have always left an independent state remaining, under which those who were discontented with our government might find a refuge. Nor have we, even in our partial acquisitions, received a country so parcelled out into Jageers of military chiefs, or so swelled with districts of independent powers, as the Peshwa's. These circumstances appear to me to require a provisional Government of some duration, and a temporary system suited to the transition from the present state of things to that now in force in our provinces. In this point of view I think it an advantage not to be accustomed to the routine of civil business, and to be more acquainted with the Mahrattas than with our own regulations. To be fitted for the duty one ought to combine both advantages, but such combinations are rarely found; and the chances are against their appearing in all the collectors and judges who would be sent into the new conquest. For these reasons I prefer trying to get the country into permanent order myself to making it over to the Government; and, if I am left to myself, I should not give it up for a year at least to come.

‘Camp, Poorunder, July 11, 1818.

‘My dear Malcolm,—I have received your letter to Adam of the 3rd, which, as well as your military paper to Young, I think wise and profound. It certainly is a very bad plan to swallow more than we can digest. I regret extremely that Jenkins has been obliged to interfere directly, and hope he may yet retreat. It is an observation of Bacon’s that every powerful state ought to wish to have a weak neighbour to receive in its stead all the buffets of fortune. Never was a case that more illustrated the maxim than ours. We must have some sink to receive all the corrupt matter that abounds in India, unless we are willing to taint our own system by stopping the discharge of it. I am not much frightened at the petty wars that we shall have after the rains. I always expected them; and in a letter about the Pindarrees, which I wrote from this neighbourhood in 1815 to Lord Hastings, I remember I reckoned on one campaign to crush great powers, and another to hunt down banditti. This I look for still, and only wonder at the progress we have made in the first campaign. We certainly must not relax. By destroying and diminishing so many states we have increased the sources of the disorders which it was our object to remove. We have gained in return admirable positions for acting against these disorders, and for crushing them wherever they appear. If we do not now profit by this advantage, we have lost instead of gaining by our late successes. I read with very little satisfaction what General Munro and you say about the accepting of a provisional Government for two or three years. I was put quite out of conceit of this plan by the impatience of the Bombay Government to rush to their promised land, and by the plain indications they betrayed of a resolution to overturn everything they found established. If this is done, it is better not to introduce any system, but leave them to please themselves; besides, I am quite impatient to make a trip home before I am utterly incapable of accommodating myself to the people and manners; and, having once indulged the thoughts of this gratification, I have easily

persuaded myself that it is consistent with my interest to make a trip home, as, with my inclination, I have just money enough to last me two years, living liberally (2,000*l.* or 2,500*l.* a year).

‘Ever yours most sincerely,

‘M. E.’

(*To W. Erskine, Esq.*)

‘Camp, Dundatchy : August 4, 1818.

‘My dear Sir,—I should not have lost a moment in thanking you for the very kind assistance you afforded me in supplying me with the books and papers of which I stood so much in need ; but I waited until your packets should reach me—which, by some mistake at Poona, did not happen till within this day or two. I return the Madras regulations, having received the Bombay ones that came by post. I have only yet had time to look into Bentham, of the works you sent. I first ran over some of his rules for transplanting a system of laws, and some of his maxims regarding the introduction of a foreign government. I was much struck with the good sense of this part of the book ; but when I began to read the treatise in regular order, I own I was a little disappointed in the expectation I have formed, both from what I had before heard of Bentham, and from the opinion I had formed from the specimen I had just seen. It struck me there was a little too much parade about originality in stating such well-known doctrines as those which open the book ; but this is a good fault, as it shows that the foundations of the system are solid, and the originality may be in the deductions. The idea of a list of pleasures and pains is valuable or otherwise according to the execution. We always weigh the good and evil which is likely to result from any step we take ; and if we do not make out lists of the *pros* and *cons*, it is because we despair of doing it accurately, and dread being led into further error by trusting to an incomplete catalogue, rather than we should fall into it by relying on our memory when called on to weigh a particular case. Now, as far as I have gone, I do not think Bentham has attained this accuracy. You have noted several of

his omissions in the margin; and I think it may be generally remarked that he is too apt to overlook all pleasures and pains that do not affect the senses. For instance, he confines the pleasures of a good reputation to the possession of the goodwill of your neighbours, and the probability of profiting by their services, and excludes the pleasures of glory, which are chiefly derived from the hope of being admired by future generations, from whose services no advantage can be expected. There is no pleasure of self-satisfaction distinct from the pleasure of success; and even that pleasure is reduced, by Bentham's definition, nearly to an identity with the pleasure of showing off. In the same manner the sanctions all turn on the body, or the coarser parts of the mind of man. The feelings of one who had secretly murdered his father would come under none of his sanctions, if he did not believe in hell; nor would the horror and remorse he would assuredly suffer find any place in Bentham's catalogue of pains. This may clear up as I go on, for I am only beginning: or, what is more likely, Bentham may excel in practical advice, though he may fail in the theory of morals; and in this idea I go on reading him with great interest.

I have not, however, so much occasion as you suppose for instruction in the principles of legislation, for my employment is very humble. It is to learn which system is in force, and to preserve it unimpaired. This, I think, ought to be the great duty of a provisional Government; and I shall think I have done a great service to this country if I can prevent people making laws for it until they see whether it wants them. In this view of my business I may hope to have completed the settlement by December; and I shall then, as you suppose, pay a visit to England. I have always had a hankering after it, but I did not like the imprudence of giving up my situation. Now that my situation has left me, I find no prudential motive to oppose my inclination; and I hope to have much pleasure and some benefit from seeing England and other strange countries—for I should go overland. If you are going home about the same time we might make a party to

the Pyramids, or to Mr. Buckingham's cities in Syria, and come back, if you like, by Samarcand and Ferghana.

‘Ever yours most sincerely,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

(*To Lord Keith.*)

‘Camp near Poona, Oct. 3, 1818.

‘My dear Uncle,—I have just received your letters by Captain Moore, and am infinitely more obliged by the warm interest you take in my affairs than I should have been by any success unaccompanied by such proofs of your kindness. Not the least among my obligations is caused by your declining the baronetcy. I am so used to see Indian services passed over, even when far more entitled to notice than mine, that it is no disappointment to me to be let alone, although for that reason I should have felt the value of being distinguished, but it would have annoyed and embarrassed me to have been obliged to accept a baronetcy, and thus to admit the superiority of an honour which I should have shared with half the aldermen in London, over that which I derive from my birth, and which can never be held but by a gentleman. I am almost as much amused as surprised at Mr. Canning's censure, which shows that he never read the reports of the transactions of which he was judging.

‘My opinion was decided from first to last that the Peshwa was not to be trusted, and I rather took merit to myself for avoiding any altercation with my friends who were of a different way of thinking, and of throwing no difficulties in the way of the officers under whose orders I was placed when acting in opposition to my judgment, than expected to be blamed for sharing in their mistake, if it was one. The following opinion was contained in an official letter to the Governor-General, dated March 21 (the war did not break out till November 5): “In the first place it appears beyond doubt that we can never again trust the Peshwa. He can never have less provocation to make war, and can never be bound by more

solemn assurances to keep at peace." This opinion I never changed, and the only doubts I ever entertained related to the time when the Peshwa would break out. In the same despatch I also said, "It would therefore be necessary, in case of war abroad, to have such a force here as would be sufficient to undertake sieges, and carry on operations among the Ghauts, and at the same time to hunt down horse and overawe the Peshwa. If we were not able to accomplish this, the Peshwa's country would soon be a scene of confusion," &c. &c. Having thus recorded my sentiments, Mr. Canning cannot think that I was required to oppose the measures of an officer, under whom I was placed for the express purpose of enabling him to apply our whole force to the war with the Pindarrees, or to enlarge on the dangers to which I should be exposed by withdrawing the troops, when Sir J. Malcolm, to whom the whole conduct of the politics of the Deckan had been entrusted, was at Poona to judge for himself, and when it might have been necessary to run a risk in one quarter for the sake of avoiding a greater risk in another. I still think it was more becoming in my situation to write as I did to General Hislop that I was ready to undertake the management of the Peshwa's country with any force HE thought proper to leave me. I wish you would show this to my uncle William, and to anybody else who you think would take the pains to read it, that the little that is said about our proceedings in the East may be said truly. With regard to my views in the service, I did wish very much to get into Council, but my present appointment has since been declared by Lord Hastings to be likely to last for two or three years, and in that case I would not exchange it for a seat in Council, and scarcely, if it were not in its nature temporary, for one of the subordinate governments. Those governments present no employment so interesting as securing and regulating a new conquest with ample powers, civil and military, with plenty of troops, and the most liberal support from the Governor-General. If I get well through this duty, I do not think it at all presumptuous to look either to Bombay or Madras. If Malcolm has a chance of Bombay, as I under-

stand is the case, I should be prevented by personal regard from any wish to interfere with him, even if his standing and services were not far superior to mine; but if he were provided for, I should hope to be considered. There are many Company's servants who have much greater claims from their own merits, but few that have so long held such important appointments, and none perhaps that have served so long an apprenticeship in the art of governing as I shall have done. My great ambition for a long time was to get home rich, and recover, or help to recover, our family interest in Scotland; but I now see that I shall be too poor, and probably too much a stranger in my own country, to give me the most distant prospect of that, so that my ultimate view is to get into quiet retirement, which I should do to-morrow if I had 1,500*l.* a year. I have written this long letter all about myself to comply with your very kind desire, and to the same kindness I trust for indulgence when you read it. I was much flattered by your mentioning Lord Wellesley as taking an interest in me. I retain the highest respect for him, and am prouder to have been made a Resident by his brother (the Duke) than if I had got a government from any other person. Believe me, &c.,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

(To Sir John Malcolm.)

‘Poona, October 29, 1818

‘My dear Malcolm,—I have to thank you for three letters, one containing your most satisfactory account of Malwa—I mean the word in old Sir Barry Close's sense, as well as in all the others of which it is capable. Lord Hastings' letter to you is most liberal and gentlemanlike. There is certainly a great deal of the Plantagenet about the Marquis. I am not sure that I understand your letter to him, where you wish for no honour that can be mistaken. I conceive you mean you would take a Grand Cross, but not a baronetcy. I hope you may get both; for a baronetcy has great value to a married man, being hereditary. With respect to old Junius's Red Ribbon, I am not

at all sanguine about it, and am well content with the other offer, though declined. I may perhaps think otherwise at some period, now it has been put into my head by my friends at home; but I should never of myself have expected the same reward that General Wellesley got for the Mahratta war. It is true that ribbons are more numerous now, but only to military men. Civil ones are as few and scarce as ever. As to what you say of my own personal plans, you see I am fixed here for a time. If I were to stay for three years, it would probably have all the good effects you suppose on my purse; but I do not think I should gain any of the reputation you allude to. As soon as the war is over, economy is the only thing thought of. People will think it very natural that the country should be quiet, but will grumble at the large military establishment, and at the great sacrifices made to obtain the goodwill of the natives. Add to this that I have no experience in judicial and revenue business, and that all my coadjutors are as inexperienced, and I think it will seem rather doubtful what sort of reputation I shall acquire by my administration. Your plan for Appa Sahib is excellent; he will be here in the beginning of November, and probably with you about the beginning of December. He will not require much *dustoor ul uml*.¹ The ceremonial is exactly the same as with Bajee Rao. He is to be allowed his own will, which is wayward and capricious enough. I do not answer your official letter about Bajee's character; but you are not to flatter yourself you have convinced me. The fact is, I am perhaps too much interested in the question to judge it impartially. It implies no small want of management to allow a man to go wrong for five or six years on end from the mere impulse of terror, when he has no cause whatever for alarm, real or apparent. I think you overlook the fact that personal cowardice is not inconsistent with political boldness. Both history and common life abound with examples of people who are constantly getting into scrapes which they have not courage to go through with. If you once admit that Bajee Rao is not politically timid, I think you will find it

¹ Instruction.

difficult to account for his intrigues in 1814 (the year before the Shastree was murdered) on the principle of *personal* fear. But it is not fair to continue the controversy in private letters after leaving off in public, and I therefore leave you in the darkness of your errors, without any further attempts to enlighten you. With respect to Bajee Rao, all you say is very true.

‘I conclude Briggs writes you the news of Candeish, and we have no other. You would be petrified at the expenses of this country; the civil enormous, and the military about a lack a week above the old establishment of the subsidiary force.

‘Ever, &c.,

‘M. E.’

(*To William Erskine, Esq.*)

‘Poona, November 1, 1818.

‘My dear Sir,—I was extremely obliged to you for the “Journal de Savans,” and was much pleased with Silvestre de Sacy’s notice. I hope he will enter into the discussion he hints at regarding the origin of the Affghans. It is well Baber was not at the time of the destruction of the Sungum. He seems slow in making his appearance. I have long since changed my irreverent notions of Bentham for great respect and admiration. It is one of the misfortunes of my situation that I have not yet been able to read him through. I made some progress in Candeish, but at Poona there is no time for anything. Another great evil in this is that I am so much taken up with current business that I have no time to consider as I ought the general principles by which I ought to be guided. This is the more unlucky, as I am so little prepared on many of the most important subjects with which I come in contact. However, it is too late to learn when it is necessary to act, and I must go through with the stock I have already laid in, and such addition as I can get from good advisers. The two points you allude to are certainly of primary importance—the manner of administering justice, and the rights to be recognised in the different classes (including

the Government) entitled to share in the produce of the soil. The first of these, next to keeping down actual rebellion, is the most important of the duties of a government. It seems to be admitted that the best plan is to improve on the institutions of the country instead of making new ones, or importing those of distinct and dissimilar countries. The first thing to do is to learn what the existing institutions are; and this, when there is no written law (none that is acted on, at least), must be a work of time. No one man, or number of men, can present in one view all the numerous customs and traditions that compose the actual law of this country. They will tell what the Hindoo law is, but it is never practised; or they will tell you of the practice in Bajee Rao's time, when everything was venal. It is only by degrees, and as questions arise of themselves, that you get the answers, and learn what mode of proceeding is generally esteemed lawful. The same sort of experience will suggest the parts of the system that require to be improved, and will help to point out the remedy. I think at the end of a year from this time there may be grounds for forming a confident opinion as to the best mode of administering justice. As yet I have only told the civil authorities to go on with the old system, and very lately I have called on them to say how they find their causes getting on, and what is the best way to prevent delays in affording redress. This will draw their attention to the subject, and will furnish valuable information and suggestions. I shall enclose or send by next post the only two answers I have yet received. They will show you how far they have got; and they are, besides, sensible papers, well worth sending on their own account. There are some radical defects, I think, in the system of punchayets, which is the basis of all our plans. The greatest is the want of a uniform law and practice, without which no man can be certain how his claim stands. Another is the unsuitableness of such an assembly to try any intricate cause, or one which requires much previous knowledge. How to get over these and other objections without bringing on greater evils, will be the difficult part of their task. You have never yet made out a trip to the Deccan. I wish I could

tempt you to do so now, by the prospect of the good your advice might do, even during a fortnight's stay, in the present stage of our progress. 'Yours most sincerely,

'M. ELPHINSTONE.'

'Poona, Feb. 28, 1819.

'My dear Strachey,—An unaccountable suspension of our correspondence has taken place. Many Europe letters were taken during the war with the Peshwa, and yours may have been among them. On the other hand, I for a long time wrote no letters that could not go into quills, and for a long time after that I wrote no letters at all. I, however, began at least two to you; and to prevent another failure I shall write this while waiting for the hour to keep an engagement as if you were at Bombay. I wish I had anything like room and time to write to you about this new acquisition, and still more that you had both time and inclination to write to me. All here is as settled as Benares. There are infinite details, but little general politics; and all my leisure, except what is wasted in eating and drinking, talking, and yawning at others talking, &c. &c., is spent in considering what is to be done in judicial and revenue matters, especially the former. My first plan, and it certainly was the wisest as well as the easiest, was to leave everything as I found it, and make no innovation until I saw how the land lay; but when I did begin to see how the land lay I found the navigation rather more intricate than I had expected. I left civil and criminal justice as I found them (as I found them in theory and name, at least); the former administered by punchayets, the latter by the collector, to which in one province (Candeish) I ventured to add a punchayet as a sort of attempt at a jury. The police was managed, and not ill, by the revenue officers, assisted by the village establishments, the Beels in our pay, and the host of Sebundies, whom we kept up that they might neither rob nor starve. I have no great fault to find with the criminal justice or police, but in the civil I found that punchayets could never be assembled without much difficulty. When they did assemble they did

not get on. If the cause was intricate they were puzzled ; even if simple they were lazy until some one member, perhaps bribed into activity by one of the parties, would exert himself a little, look into the case, lay down the law, draw up an award, and get the rest of the members to sign it. It also became a trade to sit on punchayets, although there was no fee or other emolument. Notwithstanding all this the punchayets gave tolerably fair decisions, but they gave them very slowly, and it became obvious that on this system of administering justice there would be no uniform and known system of law throughout the country, each punchayet acting on its own principles. This seems likely to be a fertile source of litigation ; and what is the remedy ? One man recommends a few short and simple regulations which every person can understand, and which will apply to all cases likely to arise ; but that is exactly what all the wise men of the earth have been endeavouring to do, without the smallest success, for the last thirty centuries. Another recommends a digest of the law as it stood at the Conquest.

‘The written law was that of the Hindoos, always vague, and unknown to the bulk of the people, often absurd, and still oftener entirely disused. The unwritten law was composed of the maxims that occur to people of common sense in a country not remarkably enlightened, modified by Hindoo law and Hindoo opinions, and constantly influenced by the direct and lawful interference of the prince, who was fountain of all law, and by the weight of rank and wealth and interest. Indeed, the practice of the country was in a great measure the law of the strongest. A powerful claimant sent a guard, and confined his antagonist till the claim was adjusted. A weaker one had recourse to patrons and connections. If he had none of these his claim was never thought of:

‘I have stated the evils of punchayets. They are cumbrous machines to apply to simple causes, and their decisions could be better ; but, without laws to administer, it is idle to fix the mode of administration. If we had an intelligible code, punchayets would see their way, and might be joined to Ameens ; or Ameens might be trusted alone when the parties knew the

law and could appeal. In all cases, English judges object, I think, to be employed in keeping the machine going and preventing abuses, rather than in executing the detail. But how is a code to be got? In fact, it is wanted for all India, but chiefly for my province. Are we to hammer on, making and unmaking regulations as chance directs? or shall we venture to make a code of laws for a people we do not half know? and if we are to make it, who is to undertake a task that would require a dozen Jeremy Bentham's, and as many Henry Strachey's? I have serious thoughts of proposing, as an experiment, the appointment of a committee to superintend the administration of justice, and form, from the Shasters and the Mahratta customs, corrected by common sense and natural justice, a code for these provinces. One thing I have forgot to mention, although it is some satisfaction: I observe many of our great authorities (including, I believe, Henry Strachey) speak of our judicial system as making the natives worse. This, if true, would be hopeless; but I doubt it much. Our plan of making the ryots dependent on the zemindars has crushed the former class, and our plan of exacting in perpetuity a hastily assessed revenue has ruined the latter. Our, or the Mohammedan innovations—probably ours—on the village system destroyed the police; but still I think the people in our provinces are not worse off nor better than those under native governments; I should say certainly and greatly better.

‘Yours sincerely,

‘M. E.’

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CHAPTER XIII,

THE SETTLEMENT, 1819.

PROVISION FOR CIVIL GOVERNMENT—THE GREAT FEUDATORIES—VISIT TO SOUTHERN MAHRATTA COUNTRY—GOA—BIJAPOOR—THE REPORT ON THE DECKAN—MAHRATTA AND BRITISH ADMINISTRATIONS COMPARED—A WARNING—POONA AND LEAVE-TAKING—FAREWELL TO THE DECKAN.

THE campaign in the Deckan was virtually closed with the fall of the principal forts in the Peshwa's dominions, and with the installation of the Raja of Sattara in the old seat of the Mahratta Government. Some strong places still held out, the most important of which was Rajghur, the old stronghold of Sivajee, a place of great natural strength, which did not fall until the following month. Some military operations were required also in Candeish and in the southern Mahratta country, where Munro, who had entered on the campaign with very slender means, was carrying all before him.

And now commenced a harder task than that of conquest, the provision for the civil government of the territory. 'No time for ennui,' Mr. Elphinstone notes more than once in his journal; nor was there much time for reading, though he never failed to turn, as opportunity offered, to some favourite author that he carried with him even in the excitement of the chase.

In one respect Mr. Elphinstone's task was an easy one. The military power of the British Government never stood so high as it did at the close of this great campaign. We remained the one paramount power throughout the whole continent of India; and the newly acquired provinces, both here and in Central India, passed quietly into British hands. The agricultural population, who constitute the great mass of the people, attached to their villages and local institutions, have, from the first dawn of Indian history, passed from the hands of

one conqueror to another without the smallest indication of popular interest in the governments that have been overthrown. From this quarter no apprehension was entertained.

In an able State paper to which I shall now have to refer, and in which he reviewed the elements of disaffection which existed among all classes in the Peshwa territory and the provision made for the government, he expresses a strong belief in the acquiescence of the people in the change.

‘The general disposition of the agricultural class,’ he says, ‘is strong in favour of tranquillity. They are the first sufferers by wars, or by assemblages of banditti; and, as they were by no means favoured under the Brahmin government, they cannot, whatever pride they may take in Mahratta independence, seriously wait for its restoration.’

‘But even among them,’ he adds, ‘there are many drawbacks on the gratitude we might expect from our light assessments and protection. The Daismooks and other zemindars, the potails and other village authorities who lose power by our care to prevent exactions, have probably influence sufficient to injure us with the very people in whose cause we incur their odium. The whole of the soldiery and all connected with them, all who lived entirely by service, all who joined service and cultivation, all who had a brother in employment, and who is now thrown back on the family, and all who had horses, or were otherwise maintained by the existence of an army, detest us and our regular battalions, and are joined by their neighbours from sympathy and from national feeling. The connection between the soldiery and the cultivators, though it has this temporary bad effect, is on the whole advantageous, as it points out a provision for the former class, to which the encouragement given to agriculture affords additional facilities.’

The arrangements made for the administration of the newly acquired province were of the simplest character. They were, indeed, imposed on us to some extent by the necessities of the case, as the British authority was only gradually established, and there was no room for the wholesale introduction of the collectorates and adawluts of the old settled territory. The

principles of administration were, however, settled on higher considerations, and these were developed in his general report, delivered in on the eve of his departure for Bombay, and to which I shall have shortly to refer.

During the period of transition members of Mr. Elphinstone's personal staff had the charge of large provinces. They were 'his family,'—a term commonly applied to the staff of public men at that time. Among them were the well-known names of Pottinger, Briggs, and Grant Duff. With them were associated experienced natives with liberal salaries. As the country was drained of the regular troops, who were engaged in the larger operations, these officers raised irregular battalions, and summoned the Killadars of forts that still held out, attacked stragglers and plunderers, and in some cases enlisted men who had lately served under the Peshwa, entrusting to their charge tracts of the new territory; and in no instance, adds the historian, did they prove treacherous or disobedient.

After the arrangements had been made for the government of the provinces lately under the direct rule of the Peshwa came the settlement with the great feudatories. When Mr. Elphinstone heard of his appointment to Bombay he proceeded at once to that presidency, with the intention of passing on to Calcutta to take counsel with the heads of the Government and with other friends on a number of questions connected with the administration that were new to him. From this plan he was diverted by pressure of important work connected with the Jageerdars, and he changed his destination for the southern Mahratta country.

This task would naturally have fallen to Munro, who had achieved the conquest of that territory. He was earnestly pressed by the Governor-General to undertake the work of settlement, occupying a position similar to that held by Mr. Elphinstone in the north. But Munro's eyesight was failing, his health shattered, and he turned homewards, resigning his command. This district was now included in Mr. Elphinstone's charge, and he proceeded thither to arrange for its administration with Mr. Chaplin, an able civil servant on the Madras

establishment, recommended to him by Munro, and above all to come to terms with the great Jageerdars.

This latter task was effected with very little difficulty. The chiefs bore no love to the Peshwa, nor he to them, and they, with few exceptions, abandoned his cause early in the campaign. Liberal terms were offered, and their allegiance was transferred to the conquerors. In one case only was any objection taken to the terms offered—Chintamun Rao, one of the Putwurduns, a family descended from a Brahmin priest, whose sons took service under the Poona State in the latter part of the last century, and received large assignments of land, positively refused to serve under the British Government, and expressed his surprise that a Government which had guaranteed his possessions, provided he rendered faithful service to the Peshwa, should now desire to transfer his services to itself. ‘It is nowhere contended,’ he said, ‘in the terms of Punderpoor that in the event of disagreement between the Peshwa and the British Government I am to serve the latter.’ He therefore contended that the British guarantee still held good, and insisted that a letter should at once be sent to him by the Commissioner, pledging the Government to its former guarantee.

Chintamun Rao was soon brought to his senses. He received from Mr. Elphinstone a reply calling on him to accept the terms, as modified according to the new order of things, within fifteen days, otherwise the Government would be compelled to resume his Jageer. His vakeels were now instructed to inform the Government of his readiness to serve and accept the other conditions offered to him, provided only that the British Government should engage to prohibit the slaughter of horned cattle, and allow some exemptions to Brahmins from forced services.

Many days passed in discussing these and some other inadmissible proposals, among the most prominent of which was the claim to wage private war with his relations; but he had in the end to submit to the common destiny of these feudal potentates.

Chintamun Rao’s character is summed up in the despatch in

which this curious negotiation is reported, in the following words :—‘ Though otherwise rather respectable and well intentioned, he has a narrow and crooked understanding, a litigious spirit, and a capricious temper.’ Crooked and sophistical the plea certainly was.

And yet it was rather a compliment to Mr. Elphinstone and the Government he served that such a plea should have been ever advanced ; and that a chief in the position of Chintamun Rao could have supposed that the perverted appeal to our good faith could have been entertained. The terms offered to these feudatories were liberal ; they guaranteed the possessions of these chiefs to them and the sirdars of their families on conditions of service which were light, if not nominal, as their irregular contingents were not liable to service in distant wars ; these troops were not very serviceable at any time, and were not likely to be called out ; on the other hand, the chiefs retained the local jurisdiction to which they attached so much importance, and a special exemption from the Adawluts of British provinces.

These negotiations were smoothed by Mr. Elphinstone’s personal communication with their chiefs. Even Chintamun Rao’s crooked mind assumed something of cordiality under the treatment he experienced. ‘ Our intercourse,’ says Mr. Elphinstone, ‘ completely restored his good humour, and had latterly the appearance of perfect cordiality and satisfaction, which, though it may not be lasting, I have no doubt was perfectly sincere.’

But, in truth, Mr. Elphinstone’s heart was in his work. How strongly he felt as to the expediency of maintaining these chiefs in their privileges is expressed in striking language, which I quote from his despatch to Secretary Metcalfe reporting this important settlement :—

‘ I am induced to enter so fully into these subjects by my sense of the importance of preserving the privileges of chiefs whose friendship we have acknowledged, as well as to show how much is gained by attachment to our Government, and for the general advantage of having some portion of the old nobility

flourishing and contented. I likewise believe that, in addition to the real difficulties of avoiding disputes with chiefs of this description, there arises, when their former situation and the nature of their claims come to be a little known, a disposition to regard them as useless encumbrances on the revenue, and obstructions to the course of the regulations, and to consider it as desirable that their lands should be resumed. From such a disposition, and even from the lapse of time, the letter of the present engagements may be remembered when the manner in which it was proposed to enforce them is forgotten; to guard against which, I would venture to suggest that any explanations which the most noble the Governor-General may think necessary for preserving the spirit of the agreements should be communicated, as permanent rules, for the guidance of the Government under which the chiefs are severally to be placed, and that this principle should be extended to the whole of the Jageerdars who are left in possession of their lands.'

Mr. Elphinstone's subsequent position as Governor of Bombay enabled him to give effect to his views. So long as the territory was administered by officers with large discretionary authority it was easy to maintain the exceptional position of these feudatories, but alarm was early taken on their part lest they should be subjected to the jurisdiction of the much-dreaded Adawluts; and in 1822 Mr. Elphinstone, on a visit to the Deckan, was besieged by their remonstrances against the establishment of some judicial officers in that country, a step which they thought betokened the final establishment of English courts of law. They contended that to make them subject to such a judicature would be in violation of the pledges conveyed in his proclamation on the fall of the Peshwa's government, by which all the privileges enjoyed under the Mahratta government were guaranteed. To make them over to the Adawluts would, they contended, involve them in hopeless ruin. These remonstrances had their weight; and a special officer was appointed as agent for the sirdars, with an appeal only to the Governor in Council; and one of the last acts of Mr. Elphinstone's Government was to provide for this peculiar

system in the regulations which brought the Peshwa's territory more directly under the system of administration that prevailed in the other provinces. These chiefs are there classed according to their rank and the estimation in which they were held under the former Government, and exempted from the immediate jurisdiction of the civil courts, an appeal being allowed from the agent who adjudicated on such questions to the Governor in Council, in regard to those of the highest rank, and to the Sudder Dewanee as regards inferior chiefs. The system thus established had the advantage of the support of Mr. Elphinstone's successor and fellow-labourer, Sir J. Malcolm, who shared in those views; and it acquired a stability that it could not have otherwise attained.

Malcolm's testimony to the popularity of this system with all classes is very striking. It is contained in a minute of November 30, 1830, in which he enters largely into the policy of maintaining these privileged classes. He contends 'that there is nothing in the new code that creates inconvenience or embarrassment from the existence or extension of the privileged classes of the Deekan. I can confidently state that, during my whole experience in India, I have known no institution so prized by those who enjoy its exemptions, or more gratifying to the whole people among whom it was established. It is recognised by the lowest orders as a concession in forms to those whom they deem their superiors, and as such is received as a boon by the community who, from their condition, neither understand nor appreciate those unyielding forms that deny alike advantages of birth and the claims of rank and service.'

Mr. Elphinstone started from Bombay on his expedition on board the 'Curlew' frigate, a vessel originally built for the Imaum of Muscat. He was landed at Mulwan, and proceeded thence by land to Goa, and to Belgaum, at which latter place he had interviews with some of the Jageerdars. He was now in the heart of the country held by these chiefs, and after settling their affairs he returned homeward through Bijapoor, the seat of one of the old Mohammedan monarchies of the Deekan, and full of memorials of its former importance. These

States were the bulwarks of the Mohammedan dominion in the south, and fell before the conquering arms of Aurungzebe, and thus paved the way for the rise of the Mahratta power. The journal of this tour of three months occupies a very large space in the manuscript volume, and is minute in the description of the country he traversed. I subjoin a few extracts.

At Goa he had the opportunity of visiting the buildings of the Inquisition, which were closed to him on his former visit to this place.

'*Goa, April 21.*—In the morning we came on, got into the midst of the old territory, and were struck with its superiority over that of any native state. The good roads, the numerous enclosures, the comfortably tiled houses, the watercourses faced with stone and crossed by bridges, all spoke a European colony, as much as the churches and crosses. We could see by some signs, especially the regular bow of every passenger, that the colony did not belong to the most liberal of European nations. The high-pitched tiled roofs are very remarkable here, and in all Portuguese territories. We were to have waited on the Viceroy at twelve; but before we could do so he came to us. He is a stout man, of a moderately fair complexion, with a high nose, smallish grey eyes, and rather large features. He was dressed in plain clothes, and a blue coat, made exactly like a plain coat, but with red cuffs, embroidered with gold. He wore the star and red ribbon of a Grand Cross of the Order of Christ; he spoke entirely through Correa on common topics, civilly, but without many professions, and seemed altogether a plain, good sort of man, more like a Dutchman than a Portuguese. He thought the King had been dead instead of the Queen, talked of the congress, without much familiarity with the subject; but seemed to enjoy the exclusion of the King of Spain. He shook his head at this country, and said he had not his health well here. Almost immediately after he left us we returned his visit. He was at the same palace where the Conde de Suredos lived: he had no row of gentlemen like that nobleman; but the curtains which hung over all the doors were lifted up by

men in plain clothes, perhaps gentlemen stationed there for the purpose. He received us in a nice enough room, with couches and chairs, and with curtains hanging from handsome painted and gilt cornices; but, like all the other rooms, with no carpet to cover the tiled floor. The conversation was as before. The Governor began by joking on our prompt payment of his visit, and, after talking a little, asked me if I had ever seen the house and the portraits of his predecessors. This ended in his taking us through three long halls, hung round with most extraordinary figures of old Portuguese noblemen, some in the dress of Charles II., with huge wigs, cocked hats, and square-cut coats; some in doublets and hose, and most in full armour. Among the rest we saw a mad-looking fellow with streaming beard and whiskers, Don Juan de Castro, a severe-looking man, Alphonso de Albuquerque, and Vasco di Gama, a squat, swarthy figure, like the common pictures of him. The Viceroy joked much on the long whiskers and odd costume of his forerunners, and did not seem to know the most distinguished of them. He pointed out De Castro at first for Albuquerque. At the end of this hall was a canopy with a throne and a smaller chair, but no other furniture, except some coarse wooden tables, probably covered with cloth on white.

‘After our visit we tiffed, and then embarked for Old Goa. The boats here are delightful. The one we were in was shaped like a wherry, but had an awning of red and yellow broadcloth and cushions of crimson damask. The wind and tide being favourable, we ran rapidly up the river, past the numerous white, clean, and comfortable-looking houses of Punjeir and Ri Bunder. We passed the palace of the Archbishop, and arrived, after a delightful sail, at the Palace of Old Goa. We passed through the gate, which has a coloured statue of Gama over it, and a relief of Albuquerque on one side, and went to the Cathedral, formerly described and now unaltered. Hence we went to the Inquisition, now full of troops assembled to attend the celebration of the Corpus Christi. Having obtained a special order from the Viceroy, we were shown the cells where prisoners were confined. They opened into long galleries, in

several inner courts, two stories high. They were small and square apartments with chunam floors, and lighted with a small high window, or rather loophole. They were not, however, particularly dark or dirty. What struck me most was their number, and the intolerable heat of such places in a climate like this. In one we were shown a contrivance for listening to the discourse of the prisoners without being suspected. We were shown no chains or instruments of torture. After visiting some more churches were turned to the palace, an old house with many large but not handsome rooms, now almost wearied. We then dined, and slept in a room about eighty feet long, but by no means the largest in the house. One of the most striking things in Goa is the ringing of the bells, some of which are very fine. In the morning we visited more churches and the convent.'

I find very few allusions to the settlement with the feudal chiefs; the only one of their number that caused any difficulty was soon disposed of.

'May 10, *Belgaum*.—Chintamun Rao, after much bullying, has had a long interview this evening. He was generally considerate in his language, and almost always compliant in essentials. He, however, fought many hard battles with the writer about the proper position of "ifs and ands." He conversed with much good humour, bragged of his knowledge of English manners, his walking, his riding, his gardening, and at all times was ready to abuse his relations with the utmost bitterness.'

The following entry in the journal forms a fitting introduction to the interesting letter to Malcolm which follows:—

'I received a letter from Malcolm enclosing one to Stewart on the policy of supporting and prolonging the existence of the native states, on the chance of a reaction, and the necessity of great caution and wisdom for the next four years. This and a conversation with Tovey made a great impression on me, and revived opinions and reflections which have been dormant under the quiet and routine of the last six months. Malcolm certainly has wise and enlarged views of policy, and, among

them, the kind and indulgent manner in which he regards the natives (though perhaps originating in his heart as much as in his head) is by no means the least important. It appears to particular advantage in his feelings towards the native army, and in the doctrines he has inculcated regarding them. It is melancholy to think that he is not young, and that he is the last of the class of politicians to which he belongs. The later statesmen are certainly more imperious and harsher in their notions, and are inferior in wisdom, inasmuch as they reckon more on force than he does, and less on affection.'

' Camp, Baitamy, May 24, 1819.

' My dear Malcolm,—I yesterday received your letter, enclosing a copy of that to Stewart. The principles laid down in that letter are liberal and enlarged; and the picture you draw of the state of India, as it is likely to be for the next four or five years, make me regret that you are likely so soon to leave it. It has sometimes struck me that the fault of our younger politicians—who have never seen the Indian states in the days of their power—is a contempt for the natives, and an inclination to carry everything with a high hand. Now, although my fears of a reaction, which at one time were strong, are now much abated, yet I am by no means insensible to the dangers to which we might be exposed if an enterprising leader could be found for the numerous unemployed soldiery who swarm, and must for many years continue to swarm, in most parts of India. I am also aware that no great period can have elapsed since these adventurers have become sensible of their desperate situation, and that the time has not yet arrived when our new subjects will feel the full extent of the revolution their country has undergone. I therefore consider your retreat at this time as a real misfortune, and cannot but hope that something may be contrived, either here or in Malwa, Rajpootana, &c., to keep you in the country until the crisis has passed over. Many of the observations contained in your letter to Stewart apply much more strongly to the Nizam's government than to Sindia's; and, in that view, I consider them the more impor-

tant. As to Sindia's government, I do not know that our successes have brought it a bit nearer its end than it was at the breaking out of the Mahratta war in 1803. It was then a weak, ill-cemented structure, threatening to fall to pieces at the first touch. It was oppressed with debt, and encumbered with a much larger force than it could pay; and I do not see that these evils have at all increased, nor am I convinced that it is in our power to lessen them. I am a good deal shaken by the conviction you express that Sindia is sincerely desirous to purchase relief from his present misfortunes by throwing himself completely into our hands, and likewise by your observation that you can think of no plan better than Stewart's; but still I own that I have great doubts how far that plan will answer the purpose, and whether it will not tend more to bring on than to avert the evils of extending our direct government, and narrowing the field for the employment of the natives. I am very far from certain that we shall be able to direct the application of any money we lend to Sindia, or to prevent his lavishing it on his pleasures, without making any serious effort to retrieve his affairs. The more he is disposed to depend on us, the more likely he is to let his army go to ruin; but, even if he were disposed to keep it up, the very principle of Stewart's plan will lessen the number of his military adherents. By establishing order, and bringing his expenses to a level with his receipts, the troops he does maintain will be better off than they now are; but it is impossible he can maintain the same number in regular full pay after he has mortgaged part of his territory that he now keeps together by only allowing them advances sufficient for their subsistence, and making up the rest on promises and attentions, with now and then a little plunder. The success of the plan must, therefore, increase the number of unemployed horsemen, unless it is imagined that the immediate effect of the proposed reform is to be a sudden improvement in Sindia's resources. The other evil likely to arise from extending our direct government it is likely to bring on is by placing us in closer contact with Sindia. Without having more control over him than we have now, this will lead to quarrels, wars, and

conquests. At the same time I am not certain that I see any better way of managing the matter. If we leave Sindia's government to itself there is the chance of its assuming the form of a predatory state during the anarchy that would follow Sindia's death, or even previous to that event—in consequence of some rebellion or other convulsion; and if we interfere, it may be questioned whether the subsidiary system is not better than the one proposed by Stewart; and I know of no third plan to compare with these two. For my own part, after all its failures, I am partial to the subsidiary plan; and I think that, with a little management, we may hope to see the Nizam, the Gykwar, the Raja of Mysore, and the remains of Holkar and the Bosla hold out as long as the Nabobs of Lucknow have done. In fact, I very much question whether, in the present state of our power, we can be compelled to extend our territory faster than we wish. If one of the Governments of India obliges us to go to war, we may depose the Prince, and perhaps take a fortress, or some other security; we can always set up another head, and preserve the state, as was done partially in the case of Vizier Ali, and still less completely in that of Mysore. Sooner or later it is probably desirable that we should have all the country. There will then be less risk from want of ability, as our politics will be simplified, and less fear of war, when there are no heads to those who would wish to oppose us. If we can then manage our native army, and keep out the Russians, I see nothing to threaten the safety of our empire until the natives become enlightened under our tuition, and a separation becomes desirable to both parties. In the meantime my principal fear is that, as we are charged with the maintenance of the peace of all India, our finances will be exhausted by keeping up the requisite force in a state of preparation; and that, if we slacken at all, some dashing leader may gain a temporary success sufficient to gather a predatory host round his standard, which, if composed, as it would be, of desperate adventurers, and commanded by a professional Kuz-zauk (instead of a Brahmin, a coward, an infant, or woman), might still give us an infinite deal of trouble. The chance of

this evil will, however, be lessened instead of increased by establishing our control over Sindia; and for that purpose the subsidiary system seems the only effectual one. This has turned out a terribly long story, without much matter in it after all. We have been running the gauntlet through a country full of cholera, and had very nearly lost Dr. Coats on the same day on which Dr. Taunton (22nd Light Dragoons) was taken ill and died. We are now much on the mend. I hope you are free of it. I wonder you have not heard from Calcutta. I have had no answer to my letter pointing out the advantage of placing this provisional government under you, but from the official letter I wrote to you about it I do not think it will take place; but neither you nor I getting answers, it looks as if it were not yet decided.

‘Ever yours, &c.,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

I return to the journal:—

‘*Camp, Bijapoor, June 9.*—Country much the same, very bare, but not very barren, some jungle, but no trees. The great dome of Bijapoor, which was in sight for half of yesterday’s march, was often seen in the course of to-day’s. At first, when it appeared over a height which revealed the building, it could easily be imagined to overshadow an edifice like St. Paul’s, and it was difficult to get rid of the impression that it was still surrounded by a populous and flourishing city. As we approached, more buildings, domes, and minarets were discovered, and afterwards the lofty and extensive city wall, still in excellent preservation. The great dome, though now clearly seen, retained great dignity. Its height was made more conspicuous from the degree in which it rose over the trees, which covered almost all the other buildings. To a person approaching from the south-west in this point of view it strongly resembled Humayun’s tomb at Delhi. Many other tombs and mosques were now near us, scattered over the plain to the west and north-west of this city. The most conspicuous was the mausoleum of Ibrahim

Shah, consisting of a tomb and a mosque which rear their domes and pinnacles from the midst of a grove of trees. They, like all the buildings here that I have observed, except the great dome and the Jumna mosque, have the dome of Shah Jehan's time, a segment longer than half a sphere placed on a cylinder. The plan of the building showed no taste. The mosque is a series of colonnades supporting small domes; all the domes are of equal diameter, but one in the centre runs up long and narrow to the height of the outer dome. Below are tombs and terraces. On the whole this tomb could not rank with the first class at Delhi; the materials are inferior, the scale is less extensive, and the plan less elegant. We now went to the fort, and on the way saw groups of tombs that strongly reminded me of Hindustan. We passed the ditch and rampart, which enclose a circle of six miles circumference. The rampart is of earth supported by strong walls and large stones. It is twenty-four feet thick at top, and has Indian battlements in tolerable order, and large towers at moderate distances. On one of them is the famous large gun. Its enormous mass strikes one with astonishment on first turning the corner, and coming on it, but there our admiration ends. It is a shapeless lump, perhaps twenty feet long, and from two and a half to three feet in the calibre. We also mounted a very lofty tower, separate from the wall, to see a Malabar gun of great length, thirty-two feet, and almost as striking as the other. From this height we saw the plan of the town, now scattered with ruins, and in some places full of trees. The most conspicuous object, next to the great dome, is the citadel, surrounded by a wall and ditch, and filled with ruined palaces. On the whole, I find Bijapoor much above my expectations, and far beyond anything I have ever seen in the Deckan. There is something solemn in this scene, and one thinks with a melancholy interest on its former possessors. The proofs of their power remain, while their weaknesses and crimes are forgotten, and our admiration of their grandeur is heightened by our compassion for their fall.

'Bijapoor, June 10,—In the morning I set out with a

party to see the great dome, that is, the tomb of Mahmood Audil Shah. We rode through the modern village and the deserted streets of the ancient city, passed the citadel, which has a double rampart and a moat, enclosing numerous and magnificent palaces, now in a state of ruin and decay. The courts seem overgrown with trees and choked with weeds, and everything looks dismal and forlorn. After a ride of two miles or more we reached the tomb, the outside of which, when near, is inferior to Humayun's. Inside it is spacious, lofty, and solemn. It is dimly lighted through the broken dome of a chapel joined to one of the large arches. Men look quite diminutive as they walk under this vast cupola, and the sound of their feet makes a strange whispering amidst the echoes of the dome. This swells when people speak into a sound like the chanting of a distant choir. I think this hall is larger than Humayun's, and it is certainly simpler, and inspires more awe. There are none of the apartments that surround the other; you step from the open air at once into the hall.

'The whole is almost entirely devoid of ornament, and at first sight seems unfinished. In the centre is a very wide terrace, on which are the tombs. We ascended into the whispering gallery, which is 105 feet above the pavement and 123 in diameter. The distance is considerable in itself, and there is something in the dome overhead, in the vacant space between, and in the imperfect light, that increases the effect, and makes a group of figures seen across the dome seem remote and diminished. The voice is heard with remarkable distinctness, but the power of the whispering gallery is very small compared to that of St. Paul's. We now went out on the terrace, and remained long admiring the view of the town and surrounding country. The morning was cloudy, with showers and gusts of wind; and from the east, which is the most sheltered side of the tomb, the view extended over the broken ramparts, and a few scattered tombs just beyond it, to a wide waste of naked plain, that accorded with the feelings of loneliness and desolation which the situation was calculated to inspire.

‘This plain forms the landscape on all sides except the west, where the town and the buildings beyond it fill up the prospect. The nearest part of the town is bare except for some modern villages, themselves now ruined and abandoned. In the furthest off part is the citadel, filled with trees and buildings, and presenting an appearance of splendour and prosperity strongly contrasted with its actual shattered and forsaken condition.’

When his work in the southern territories was completed Mr. Elphinstone returned to Poona to wind up all business connected with those provinces preparatory to his leaving for Bombay. I insert a letter addressed to Sir James Mackintosh after his arrival.

‘Poona, July 2, 1819.

‘My dear Sir James,—On my arrival at this place yesterday I received your letter of October 2, 1818. I do not know what has kept it so much after your later letter, which reached me some time ago. I am very glad to find my book has reached a second edition, and greatly obliged by your kindness in superintending the publication. I am afraid the belief that our Indian Empire will not be long-lived is reason, and not prejudice. It is difficult to guess the death it may die; but if it escapes the Russians, and other foreign attacks, I think the seeds of its ruin will be found in the native army—a delicate and dangerous machine, which a little mismanagement may easily turn against us. The most desirable death for us to die of should be, the improvement of the natives reaching such a pitch as would render it impossible for a foreign nation to retain the government; but this seems at an immeasurable distance. Colonisation would help it on, but colonisation must begin by crowding and disgusting the natives. Europeans would penetrate into all parts of the country, offending their prejudices, encroaching on their rights, and occupying many of the employments from which they derive their subsistence. This, and the fear of a colonial public, with all the narrowness and selfishness of a population of whites, appear to be the only objections to colonisation. As to its having a re-

mote tendency to occasion a separation, I think that no sort of disadvantage. A time of separation must come ; and it is for our interest to have an early separation from a civilised people rather than a violent rupture with a barbarous nation, in which it is probable that all our settlers, and even our commerce, would perish, along with all the institutions we had introduced into the country.

‘I did not know whether to be sorry or glad at your appointment to Hertford College: sorry, because it must encroach on the time that ought to be devoted to history ; and glad, because it will give you opportunities of doing so much good to this country. I cannot conceive a more dangerous instructor for a young man destined for India than an ordinary English lawyer, or any one so well calculated to render him useful as a person capable of teaching him the general principles of legislation, and of accustoming him to take extended views of his duties and opportunities. I shall write to-day to try to get some of the books you commend. I am glad you think the fourth canto of “Childe Harold” inferior to the others. It struck me as being rather the easy flowing conversation of a man of genius and imagination than the immediate effect of poetical inspiration ; and I was alarmed, on reading the “Edinburgh Review,” to find how heretical an opinion I had issued.

‘I remain, &c.,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

During the last three months of his residence at Poona he was engaged in preparing his report on the recently acquired territories, an able State paper containing a short account of the provinces under the Peshwa’s government, a sketch of Mahratta history, a review of the system of administration, revenue, and judicature pursued by the Mahrattas, as a necessary preliminary to his own propositions for their future administration. The pervading tone of this long report—in itself a volume, and printed and circulated among official circles at the time—is that of moderation and caution in its suggestions, a caution springing not merely from a sense of the political

difficulties attending the conquest of a great empire, but from those which are inherent in the sudden extension of European principles of administration in the East.

The former class of difficulties have been partially adverted to in the preceding narratives. The elements of mischief were rife, and the first aim of the conquerors was to reconcile all who were connected with the administration of the former government, and especially the military classes. But there was another source of danger which we have not experienced in any former conquest in the East, at least as regards the Hindus; and that was religion. The Peshwa was a Brahmin; and, from policy and superstition, he had employed Brahmins largely in the public service, and encouraged them with lavish doles and grants of land. The territory was crowded with an intriguing and fanatic class, most antagonistic to the new order of things. In the Sattara proclamation it was declared that there should be no interference with the tenets of any religious sect, and that all *wutun* and *enam* lands, established pensions, and annual allowances should be respected and continued, provided the holders should retire from the service of Bajee Rao within two months from that date. In his anxiety to make known the views of the Government, Mr. Elphinstone took occasion, while at Nassick—a celebrated place of pilgrimage, and resorted to largely by this sacred order—to convene an assembly of Brahmins, and renew the assurance of the security of these grants and endowments. This was accompanied by a distribution of sums of money among the poorer members of the order; and this was again repeated at Poona.

If they were led to believe that these acts of conciliation proceeded from fear, or from an exaggerated idea of their own importance, they were soon undeceived. A conspiracy was detected, in which some men of desperate fortunes took a lead, some of them being Brahmins, having for its object the murder of the Europeans at Poona and Sattara, the surprise of some of the principal forts, and the possession of the person of the Raja of Sattara. It was met with promptitude, and Mr. Elphinstone, who never hesitated to assume a responsibility when the public

service required it, ordered the ringleaders to be punished in the Mahratta fashion by being blown from guns, remarking at the time 'that the punishment contained two valuable elements of capital punishment; it was painless to the criminal and terrible to the beholder.' The act, which has been since resorted to during the crisis of the Indian mutiny, was then an innovation in British India, and Sir Evan Nepean, the Governor of Bombay, wrote to Mr. Elphinstone advising him strongly to ask for an act of indemnity. The counsel was indignantly rejected. 'If I have done wrong,' said Mr. Elphinstone to his friends, 'I deserve to be punished; if I have done right I do not require an act of indemnity.'¹

I have noticed above the importance which Mr. Elphinstone attached to a liberal settlement of the claims of the feudal nobility. He reverted to the subject in his report, and in that part in which he makes some remarks on the disposition of the people as affecting the future tranquillity of the country he makes the following remarks:—

'The great hereditary Sirdars are a much more important class. These are not like the chiefs of a Mussulman Government, foreigners to the people; nor are they raised by the prince, to fall when his support is withdrawn. They are of the same nation and religion with the people, and the descendants of those who have been their leaders since they rose to independence. Their landed possessions also give an extent and a permanence to their influence not usual in the countries we have before subdued.'

Under the native Government the Jageerdars were all-powerful in their own territory. The tenure of a Jageer is technically only the assignment of the revenue; but this carried with it a control over the whole administration; and the more powerful of their number exercised the right of private war. Some abatement of these powers became necessary, but in carrying them out difficulties arose owing to the terms of

¹ This anecdote with many others relating to this period of Mr. Elphinstone's service was communicated to me by the late Mr. J. Warden of the Bombay service.

their engagement with the Peshwa which we proposed to ratify. 'These Jageerdars,' wrote Mr. Elphinstone in his letter to Secretary Metcalfe already quoted, 'must by our agreement with them continue to be governed according to the terms of Punderpoor, which are founded on the ancient custom of the Mahratta Empire. They must, therefore, have the entire management of their own Jageers, including the power of life and death, and must not be interfered with by the Government, unless in case of very flagrant abuse of power, or long continuance of gross mismanagement.'

Provision was made for the extradition of criminals, a fertile source of dispute, and a power reserved of pursuing them into the territory held by the chiefs. Any matters of difference among themselves were to be regarded as political matters, and to be dealt with by direct orders from the Government, and not under the regulations applicable to the British territory; and further assurances were given that the Government would maintain their rank and dignity as it was maintained under the Peshwa's rule.

In the case of the Jageerdars of an inferior rank their power in matters of police were in future to be more limited, and they were rendered in all matters more directly amenable to the control of the commissioner, while care was taken to satisfy them that they would not be brought under the jurisdiction of the dreaded Adawluts.

'The offences of the lower order of Jageerdars,' he wrote, 'may be tried by the Collector, but not without previous reference to the Commissioner. This same rule ought, I conceive, to apply to all serious complaints against people of rank; mere trifling complaints and civil trials ought to be carried on by punchayets, or by the proper European officers; but in all these cases the forms of civility usual among men of rank ought to be substituted for the summons and orders of the court usual in settled countries. Everything in this country is provisional, and may be altered when found inconvenient; but I would, if possible, maintain most of these proposed indulgences during the lives of the present generation. Afterwards all that produces

real inequality may be removed, but inequality of forms must be maintained as long as we wish to preserve inequality of ranks, unless the natives should become sufficiently enlightened to view these matters as we do in England. At present a violent change would be felt as oppressive by the upper classes, and be disapproved as unusual even by the lower.'

The treatment of these privileged classes, as it regarded only a portion of the population, so it occupied a very limited portion of the report, which dealt with principles of administration applicable to the whole people. In framing his plan he had throughout before his mind the remarkable exposure of the scandals which arose under British administration in the oldest and most settled of our provinces, and are detailed in the famous fifth report of 1812. In that volume is found detailed the history of the ruin which overtook so large a proportion of the landed proprietors under our revenue system, which at the same time failed to give any effectual protection to the customary rights of the occupying tenant, the utter breakdown of the police system, and the disorders which in consequence overspread the country, and the scandal that attended the administration of justice.

These and other exposures of the abuses that have arisen in British provinces have raised in many minds a sceptical doubt whether the security of life and property is not more effectually maintained under native rule, whether the people subject to British government have benefited by the change from their Mohammedan or Hindoo rulers. It has given to India the inestimable blessing of peace. It has established order in countries wasted by rapine; but the attempts to administer justice between man and man, to protect life and property, and even to establish a sound system of revenue administration, have in many cases been such utter failures as to constitute a scandal. In later annexations we have profited by the errors of our early administration. A more simple form of rule with less disturbance of native institutions, a careful study of the rights of different classes, a more liberal employment of natives, larger powers given to British officers, combined with a *more careful*

selection of them, have been the principles on which we have acted in administering new provinces, and to Mr. Elphinstone is due the honour of leading the way by his example and by his writings.

The extract which follows is long, but it will not bear abridgment. I wish to present in Mr. Elphinstone's own language the picture which he has drawn of some of the checks which exist on the abuse of power, even under a government such as that of the Mahrattas, and the comparison he draws between it and our own, and some of his suggestions for the new administration. Many of the latter were provisional, and the measures adopted fell, after a time, more or less into disuse. I shall revert to this subject in the next chapter, when I have to deal with his administrative labours as Governor of Bombay. For the present I have only to remark that the sketch of native administration, with all its abuses, is humbling to our pride, and ought to convey a moral to those who contend that we should not lose any lawful opportunity of extending the blessings of British rule.

‘Judging from the impunity with which crime might be committed under a system of criminal justice and police such as has been described, we should be led to fancy the Mahratta country a complete scene of anarchy and violence. No picture, however, could be further from the truth. The reports of the collectors do not represent crimes as particularly numerous. Mr. Chaplin, who has the best opportunity of drawing a comparison with our old provinces, thinks them rarer than there. Murder for revenge, generally arising either from jealousy or disputes about landed property, and as frequently about village rank, is mentioned as the commonest crime among the Mahrattas. Arson and cattle-stealing, as means of revenging wrongs or extorting justice, are common in the Carnatic.

‘It is of vast importance to ascertain the causes that counteracted the corruption and relaxation of the police, and which kept this country in a state superior to our oldest possessions, amidst all the abuses and oppressions of a native Government. The principal causes to which the disorders in

Bengal have been attributed are the over-population, and the consequent degradation and pusillanimity of the people; the general revolutions of property, in consequence of our revenue arrangements, which drove the upper classes to disaffection and the lower to desperation; the want of employment to the numerous classes, whether military or otherwise, who were maintained by the native government; the abolition of the ancient system of police, in which, besides the usual bad effects of a general change, were included the removal of responsibility from the zemindars; the loss of their natural influence as an instrument of police; the loss of the services of the village watchmen, the loss of a hold over that class which is naturally disposed to plunder, and in some cases the necessity to which individuals of it were driven to turn robbers, from the resumption of their allowances; the separation of the revenue, magisterial, judicial, and military powers, by which all were weakened; the further weakness of each from the checks imposed on it; the delays of trials, the difficulties of conviction, the inadequacy of punishment, the trouble and expense of prosecuting and giving evidence; the restraints imposed by our maxims on the assumption of power by individuals, which, combined with the dread of the Adawlut, discouraged all from exertion in support of the police; the want of an upper class among the natives, which could take the lead on such occasions; and, to conclude, the small number of European magistrates who supply the place of the class last mentioned, their want of connection and communication with the natives, and of knowledge of their language and character.²

‘The Mahratta country presents in many respects a complete contrast to the above picture. The people are few compared to the quantity of arable land; they are hardy, warlike, and always armed till of late years. The situation of

² This passage is far from exhausting the subject. The low pay of native officials, who in many cases exercise considerable power, and the inefficiency of many British officers, under a system which allowed the veriest dolts to be sent out to India to discharge duties of the highest importance, had a large share in bringing about these scandals.

the lower orders was very comfortable, and that of the upper prosperous. There was abundance of employment in the domestic establishments and foreign conquests of the nation. The ancient system of police was maintained, all the powers of the State were united in the same hands, and their vigour was not checked by any suspicions on the part of the Government or any scruples of their own. In cases that threatened the peace of society, apprehension was sudden and arbitrary, trial summary, and punishment prompt and severe. The innocent might sometimes suffer, but the guilty could scarcely ever escape. As the magistrates were natives they readily understood the real state of a case submitted to them, and were little retarded by scruples of conscience, so that prosecutors and witnesses had not long to wait. In their lax system men knew that if they were right in substance they would not be questioned about the form; and perhaps they likewise knew that if they did not protect themselves they could not always expect protection from the magistrate, whose business was rather to keep down great disorders than to afford assistance in cases that might be settled without his aid. The mamludars were themselves considerable persons, and there were men of property and consideration in every neighbourhood—*enamdars*, *jagheerdars*, or old *zemindars*. These men associate with the ranks above and below, and kept up the chain of society to the prince; by this means the higher orders were kept informed of the situation of the lower, and as there was scarcely any man without a patron, men might be exposed to oppression, but could scarcely suffer from neglect.

‘Many of the evils from which this country has hitherto been exempt are inseparable from the introduction of a foreign government; but perhaps the greater may be avoided by proper precautions. Many of the upper classes must sink into comparative poverty, and many of those who were employed in the court and army must absolutely lose their bread. Both of these misfortunes happened, to a certain extent, in the commencement of Bajee Rao’s reign: but as the frame of government was entire, the bad effects of these partial evils were surmounted.

Whether we can equally maintain the frame of government is a question that is yet to be examined. The present system of police, as far as relates to the villages, may be easily kept up ; but I doubt whether it is enough that the village establishment be maintained, and the whole put under a mamlutdar. The potail's respectability and influence in his village must be kept up by allowing him some latitude, both in the expenditure of the village expenses, and in restraining petty disorders within his village. So far from wishing that it were possible for the European officers to hear all complaints on such subjects, I think it fortunate that they have no time to investigate them ; and think it desirable that the mamlutdars also should leave them to the potails, and thus preserve a power, on the aid of which we must in all branches of the government greatly depend. The zealous co-operation of the potails is as essential to the collection of the revenue, and to the administration of civil justice, as to the police ; and it ought, therefore, by all means to be secured. Too much care cannot be taken to prevent their duty becoming irksome, and their influence impaired, by bringing their conduct too often under the correction of their superiors. I would lend a ready ear to all complaints against them for oppression, but I would not disturb them for inattention to forms ; and I would leave them at liberty to settle petty complaints in their own way, provided no serious punishment were inflicted on either party. We may weaken the potails afterwards if we find it necessary, and retrench their emoluments ; but our steps should be cautious, for if we once destroy our influence over the potails, or theirs over the people, we can never recover either. Care ought also to be taken of the condition of the village watchman, whose allowance, if not sufficient to support him and to keep him out of temptation to thieve, ought to be increased ; but it ought not to be so high as to make him independent of the community ; and it ought always to be in part derived from contributions, which may compel him to go his rounds among the villagers, as at present.

‘ If the village police be preserved, the next step is to pre-

serve the efficiency of the mamlutdar. At present all powers are vested in that officer, and as long as the auxiliary horse and sebundies are kept up, he has ample means of preserving order. The only thing requisite at present is that the mamlutdar should have higher pay, to render him more respectable and more above temptation, and to induce the better sort of natives to accept the office. When the sebundies are reduced in numbers and the horse discharged, our means of preserving the peace will be greatly weakened, at the same time that the number of enemies to the public tranquillity will be increased : the number of sebundies now in our pay, by giving employment to the idle and needy, contributes, I have no doubt, more than anything else to the remarkable good order which this part of our new conquests has hitherto enjoyed. The mamlutdar will also feel the want of many of the jageerdars and others of the upper class, who used to aid his predecessors with their influence, and even with their troops. The want of that class will be still more felt, as a channel through which Government could receive the accounts of the districts, and of the conduct of the mamlutdars themselves. The cessation of all prospects of a rise will of itself, in a great measure, destroy the connection between them and the rulers ; and the natural distance which, I am afraid, must always remain between natives and English gentlemen will tend to complete the separation. Something may be done by keeping up the simplicity and equality of Mahratta manners, and by imitating the facility of access which was conspicuous among their chiefs. On this also the continuance of the spirit of the people and of our popularity will probably in a great measure depend. Sir Henry Strachey, in his report laid before Parliament, attributes many of the defects in our administration in Bengal to the unmeasurable distance between us and the natives ; and afterwards adds that there is scarcely a native in his district who would think of sitting down in the presence of an English gentleman. Here every man above the rank of a hircarra sits down before us, and did before the Peshwa ; even a common ryot, if he had to stay any time, would sit down on the ground. This contributes, as far as the mechanical parts of

the society can, to keep up the intercourse that ought to subsist between the governors and the governed: there is, however, a great chance that it will be allowed to die away. The great means of keeping it up is for gentlemen to receive the natives often, when not on business. It must be owned there is a great difficulty in this. The society of the natives can never be in itself agreeable; no man can long converse with the generality of them without being provoked with their constant selfishness and design, wearied with their importunities, and disgusted with their flattery. Their own prejudices also exclude them from our society in the hours given up to recreation, and at other times want of leisure is enough to prevent gentlemen receiving them; but it ought to be remembered that this intercourse with the natives is as much a point of duty, and contributes as much towards good government, as the details in which we are generally occupied.

‘Much might likewise be done by raising our mamlutdars to a rank which might render it creditable for native gentlemen to associate with them. It must be owned our Government labours under natural disadvantages in this respect, both as to the means of rendering our instruments conspicuous, and of attaching them to our cause. All places of trust and honour must be filled by Europeans. We have no irregular army to afford honourable employment to persons incapable of being admitted to a share of the government, and no court to make up by honours and empty favour for the absence of the other more solid objects of ambition. As there are no great men in our service we cannot bestow the higher honours on the lower, on which also the natives set a high value; as the privilege of using a particular kind of umbrella, or of riding in a palankeen, cease to be honours under us, from their being thrown open to all the world. What honours we do confer are lost from our own want of respect for them, and from our want of sufficient discrimination to enable us to suit them exactly to the person and the occasion, on which circumstances the value of these fanciful distinctions entirely depends.

‘To supply the place of these advantages we have nothing

left but good pay, personal attentions, and occasional commendations and rewards. The first object may be attained without much additional expense by enlarging the districts, diminishing the number of officers, and increasing their pay. The pay might also be augmented for length of service, or in reward of particular activity. It might be from 200 to 250 rupees at first, and increase one-sixth for every five years' service; khilauts might also be given as occasional rewards for services; and, above all, lands for life—or even, on rare occasions, for two or three lives, or in perpetuity—ought to be given to old or to meritorious servants. Besides the immediate effect of improving the conduct of the mamlutdars by these liberalities, their political advantages would be considerable, by spreading over the country a number of respectable persons attached to the Government, and capable of explaining its proceedings. If these grants could often be made hereditary, we should also have a source from which hereafter to draw well-educated and respectable men to fill our public offices, and should found an order of families exactly of the rank in life which would render them useful to a Government circumstanced like ours. The jageer lands, as they fall in, might be applied to this purpose; and I think it would be good policy to make the rules regarding the resumption, at the death of the present incumbents, much stricter, if they were to be applied to this purpose; since we should gain more of useful popularity by grants of this kind than we should lose by dispossessing the heirs of many of the present jageerdars. It would be a further stimulus to the mamlutdars, at the same time that it contributed to the efficiency of the system, to put the office of dufterdar with the collector on such a footing as to render it a sufficient object of emulation. For this purpose I would allow it 1,000 rupees a month; which, considered as the very highest salary to which a native could attain, is surely not too much. I have fixed these allowances below what I at first thought it expedient; and in judging of their amount, the great difference in expense between this territory and the old provinces must be borne in mind. The pay of the common servants here is more than

double what it is in Bengal; but if the proposed allowances should still seem more than the finances can bear, it ought to be recollected that economy, no less than policy, requires liberal pay when there is considerable trust—a maxim long since confirmed in its application to the natives by the experience and sagacity of General Munro.’

The report proceeds to consider the amount of responsibility with which the different grades of officers should be entrusted, and the checks to be provided against the abuse of powers, and then returns to the police.

‘The spirit of the people has been mentioned as of the first importance, and although that may be expected to flag under a foreign rule, and still more under a strong government which protects all its subjects, and leaves no call for the exertion of their courage and energy in their own defence; yet there are instances in some parts of our old territories of our subjects retaining their military spirit after they have lost their habits of turbulence, and we may hope to accomplish the same object here. The first step towards its attainment is to remove all obstructions to the use of arms. On our first conquest some restriction was necessary on persons travelling with arms, but that has since been relaxed and ought to be done away. Besides the advantage of arming the people for purposes of police, it would be useful even in cases of war and insurrection, as the bulk of the people, even if disaffected, would be led, for the sake of their property, to employ their arms against our predatory enemies rather than against us. On the same principle, villages should be encouraged to keep up their walls, and perhaps allowed some remission to enable them to repair them.’

At a later part of the report he returns to the description of Mahratta administration:—

‘But with all these defects the Mahratta country flourished, and the people seem to have been exempt from some of the evils which exist under our own more perfect government; there must, therefore, have been some advantages in the system to counterbalance its obvious defects, and most of them appear to me to have originated in one fact, that the Government,

although it did little to obtain justice for the people, left them the means of procuring it for themselves. The advantage of this was particularly felt among the lower orders, who were most out of reach of their rulers, and most apt to be neglected under all governments. By means of the punchayet they were enabled to effect a tolerable dispensation of justice among themselves, and it happens that most of the objections stated to that institution do not apply in this case.

‘A potail was restrained from exercising oppression both by the fear of the mamlutdar, and by the inconvenience of offending the society in which he lived; and when both parties were disposed to a punchayet, he had no interest in refusing his assistance to assemble one. A punchayet can scarcely be perplexed in the simple causes that arise under its own eyes, nor can it easily give a corrupt decision when all the neighbourhood know the merits of the case. Defendants, witnesses, and members are all within the narrow compass of a village, and where all are kept from earning their daily bread during the discussion, there is not likely to be much needless complaint or affected delay.

‘This branch of the native system, therefore, is excellent for the settlement of the disputes of the ryots among themselves, but it is of no use in protecting them from the oppression of their superiors, and it is evident that the plan of leaving the people to themselves could never have been sufficient for that purpose.

‘But here another principle came into operation; the whole of the government revenue being derived from the ryot, it was the obvious interest of government and its agents to protect him, and to prevent his being exposed to any exactions but their own. The exactions of government were limited in good times by the conviction that the best way to enrich itself was to spare the ryots, and those of its agents, by the common interest of government and the ryot in restraining their depredations. By these principles, while the native government was good, its ryots were tolerably protected both from the injustice of their neighbours and tyranny of their superiors, and that class

is the most numerous, most important, and most deserving portion of the community.

‘It was in the class above this the defects of the judicial system were most felt, and even there they had some advantages. As the great fault of government was its inertness, people were at least secure from its over-activity. A government officer might be induced by a bribe to harass an individual under colour of justice, but he could not be compelled by the mere filing a petition to involve those under his jurisdiction in all the vexations of a lawsuit. Even when bribed he could not do much more than harass the individual, for the right to demand a punchayet was a bar to arbitrary decrees ; and although he might reject or evade the demand, yet the frequent occurrence of a course so contrary to public opinion could not escape his superiors, if at all inclined to do justice.

‘The inertness of government was counteracted by various expedients which, though objectionable in themselves, supplied the place of better principles. These were private redress, patronage, and presents. The first occupies the same place in civil justice that private revenge does in criminal among still ruder nations. It is this which is called tukaza by the Mah-rattas, and which has already been mentioned as so important in bringing on a trial. If a man have a demand from his inferior or his equal, he places him under restraint, prevents his leaving his house or eating, and even compels him to sit in the sun until he comes to some accommodation. If the debtor were a superior, the creditors had first recourse to supplications and appeals to the honour and sense of shame of the other party ; he laid himself on his threshold, threw himself in his road, clamoured before his door, or he employed others to do all this for him ; he would even sit down and fast before the debtor’s door, during which time the other was compelled to fast also ; or he would appeal to the gods, and invoke their curses upon the person by whom he was injured. It was a point of honour with the natives not to disturb the authors of these importunities as long as they were just, and some satisfaction was generally procured by means of them. If they were unjust,

the party thus harassed naturally concurred with the plaintiff in the wish for a punchayet, and thus an object was obtained which might not have been gained from the indolence of the magistrate. Similar means were employed to extort justice from the ruling power; standing before the residence of the great man, assailing him with clamour, holding up a torch before him by daylight, pouring water without ceasing on the statues of the gods. These extreme measures, when resorted to, seldom failed to obtain a hearing, even under Bajee Rao; and there was the still more powerful expedient both for recovering a debt or for obtaining justice, to get the whole caste, village, or trade to join in performing the above ceremonies, until the demand of one of its members were satisfied.

• The next means of obtaining justice was by patronage. If a poor man had a master or landlord, a great neighbour, or any great connection; or if he had a relation who had a similar claim on a great man, he could interest him in his favour, and procure his friendly intercession with the debtor, his application to the friends of the latter, or, finally, his interest with the public authority to obtain justice for his client. This principle was not so oppressive as it seems at first sight, or as it must have been if it had been partial, for it was so extended that scarcely any man was without some guardian of his interests. Both sides in a cause were thus brought nearly equal, and the effect of the interference of their patrons was to stimulate the system, which might otherwise have stood still.

‘ If this recourse failed, a present, or a promise of a present, to the public authority, or those who had weight with him, would be efficacious: the fee of one-fourth of all property gained in lawsuits was in fact a standing bribe to invite the assistance of the magistrate.

‘ The number of persons who could grant punchayets also expedited business. Besides the nyaeedaish and the numerous mamlutdars and jageerdars, many people of consequence also held punchayets, under the express or implied authority of the Peshwa, and every chief settled the disputes of his own retainers, whether among themselves, or with others of the lower

and middle classes. A great number of disputes were also settled by private arbitration; and their proceedings, in the event of an appeal, were treated by the government with the same considerations as those of punchayets held under its own authority.

‘Thus some sort of justice was obtained, and it was less impure than might be expected from the sources by which it was supplied, because public opinion and the authority of the magistrates set bounds to tukaza, and the institution of punchayets was a restraint on patronage and bribery.

‘The punchayet itself, although in all but village causes it had the defects before ascribed to it, possessed many advantages. Though each might be slow, the number that could sit at a time, even under the superintendence of one person, must have enabled them to decide many causes. The intimate acquaintance of the members with the subject in dispute, and in many cases with the characters of the parties, must have made their decisions frequently correct, and it was an advantage of incalculable value in that mode of trial that the judges, being drawn from the body of the people, could act on no principles that were not generally understood; a circumstance which, by preventing uncertainty and obscurity in the law, struck at the very root of litigation. The liability of punchayets to corruption was checked by the circumstance that it did not so frequently happen to one man to be a member as to make venality very profitable, while the parties and the members being of his own class, he was much exposed to detection and loss of character; accordingly the punchayets appear, even after the corrupt reign of Bajee Rao, to have retained in a great degree the confidence of the people, and they do not appear to have been unworthy of their good opinion. All the answers to my queries (except those of the Collector of Ahmednuggur) give them a very favourable character; and Mr. Chaplin, in particular, is of opinion that in most instances their statement of the evidence is succinct and clear, their reasoning on it solid and perspicuous, and their decision in a plurality of cases just and impartial.

‘Their grand defect was procrastination, and to counteract it the suitors had recourse to the same remedies as with people in power, importunity, intercession of patrons, and sometimes, no doubt, to promises, fees, and bribes.

‘Such are the advantages and disadvantages of the native administration of justice, which are to be weighed against those of the plan adopted in our provinces. If we were obliged to take them as they stood under the native government, the scale would probably soon be turned; but as it is possible to invigorate the system and to remove its worst abuses, the question is not so easily decided. The most striking advantages in our plan appear to be that the laws are fixed, and that as means are taken to promulgate them they may be known to every one; that the decisions of the Adawlut, being always³ on fixed principles, may always be foreseen; that there is a regular and certain mode of obtaining redress; that the decision on each separate case is more speedy than in any native Court, and that it is more certain of being enforced; that justice may be obtained by means of the Adawlut, even from officers of government or from government itself; that the judges are pure, and that their purity and correctness are guarded by appeals; and that the whole system is steady and uniform, and is not liable to be biassed in its motions by fear or affection, policy or respect.

‘On the other hand, it appears that although the regulations are promulgated, yet, as they are entirely new to the people of India, a long time must pass before they can be generally known, and as both they and the decisions of the Court are founded on European notions, a still longer period must elapse before their principles can be at all understood; and this obscurity of itself throws all questions relating to property into doubt, and produces litigation, which is further promoted by the existence of a class of men, rendered necessary by the

³ This requires to be qualified. The judicial administration in British provinces, when Mr. Elphinstone wrote this report, was very weak, and one of his principal aims when Governor of Bombay was to supply some fixed principles to regulate the procedure and decisions.

numerous technical difficulties of our law, whose subsistence depends on the abundance of lawsuits; that by these means an accumulation of suits takes place, which renders the speedy decision of the Adawlut of no avail; that the facility given to appeals takes away from the advantage of its rigour in enforcing decrees, and renders it on the whole, in many cases, more feeble and dilatory than even the punchayet, while in others it acts with a sternness and indifference to rank and circumstances very grating to the feelings of the natives; that its control over the public officers lessens their power without removing the principle of despotism in the government, or the habits engendered by that principle in the people, and that, by weakening one part of the machine without altering the rest, it produces derangement and confusion throughout the whole; that the remoteness of the Adawlut prevents the access of the common people; and that if moonsifs with fees, vakeels, &c., be adopted to remedy this evil, they are not exempt from the corruption of the native system, while they occasion in a remarkable degree the litigious spirit peculiar to ours.

‘This view of the Adawlut is taken from the reports drawn up in Bengal, and it is possible that many of the defects described may originate in the revenue sytem, in the voluminousness of the regulations, or in other extrinsic circumstances—a supposition which appears to be supported by the state of the courts under Bombay, where most of the evils alluded to are said to be still unfelt; but enough will remain to satisfy us that the chance of attaining or approaching to perfection is as small under our own plan as under that of the natives; that on either plan we must submit to many inconveniences and many abuses, and that no very sudden improvement is to be looked for in the actual state of things. If this be the case, it becomes of the first consequence to cherish whatever there is good in the existing system, and to attempt no innovation that can injure the principle now in force, since it is so uncertain whether we can introduce better in its room.

‘I propose, therefore, that the native system should still be preserved, and means taken to remove its abuses and revive its

energy—such a course will be more welcome to the natives than any entire change; and if it should fail entirely, it is never too late to introduce the Adawlut.’

The plan of administration proposed was one of the simplest kind; the potail in the country districts, and the heads of trades in the towns, were invested with authority to summon and refer to punchayets matters which, under the ordinary course of civil administration, would come before the Adawlut. Native judges, with liberal salaries, were appointed in places where this primitive mode of administration would not apply, and appeals were allowed in many cases to the mamlutdar, or native officer, subject in all cases to the general supervision of the Collector of Revenue, with whom all powers of criminal and civil administration remained. The details of the proposed plan are given at some length. I subjoin the general remarks with which he concludes this by far the most interesting portion of his Report:—

‘The plan I have proposed has many obvious and palpable defects, and many more will no doubt appear when its operations are fully observed. It has this advantage—that it leaves unimpaired the institutions, the opinions, and the feelings that have hitherto kept the community together; and that, as its fault is meddling too little, it may be gradually remedied by interfering when urgently required. An opposite plan, if it fail, fails entirely; it has destroyed everything that could supply its place, and when it sinks the whole frame of the society sinks with it. This plan has another advantage likewise—that, if it does not provide complete instruments for the decision of suits, it keeps clear of the causes that produce litigation. It makes no great changes, either real or apparent, in the laws, and it leads to no revolution in the state of property. The established practice also, though it be worse than another proposed in its room, will be less grievous to the people, who have accommodated themselves to the present defects, and are scarcely aware of their existence; while every fault in a new system—and, perhaps, many things that are not faults—would be severely felt for want of this adaptation. I

do not, however, mean to say that our interference with the native plan is odious at present. On the contrary, several of the collectors are of opinion that a summary decision by a European judge is more agreeable to the natives than any other mode of trial. This may be the case at first; but if the decisions of Europeans should ever be so popular as to occasion the disuse of the native modes of settlement, there would soon be a run on the courts; and justice, however pure when obtained, would never be got without years of delay.

There must, however, in the system now proposed, be a considerable sacrifice of form, and even some sacrifice of essential justice; and it is to be expected that the abuses which will be observed under it will give particular disgust to most of our officers, because they are repugnant to our ways of thinking, and we are apt to forget that there are equal blemishes in every other system, and that those which are the least offensive in our eyes are often most disgusting to the natives. This unsuitableness of the native system to European ideas is, however, a very serious objection to its adoption, and renders it doubtful if we shall be able to maintain it after the officers to whom it is to be entrusted shall have ceased to be selected merely for their fitness.

‘If our own system be unintelligible to the natives, it is at least intelligible to us; and, as its characteristic is strict rules and checks to departure from them, it is not easy to go wrong. Moreover, as it possesses no very nice adaptation to the native way of thinking, a little derangement is of no great consequence. But the native plan can seldom be thoroughly understood by any of us; we may act against its plainest rules from mere ignorance, and we must all be liable to strike at its vital principles when we think we are only removing its defects. Nor is it necessary that the Legislature should fall into this error to produce the most fatal effects. The error of an inferior executive officer is sufficient to overthrow the system. The Commissioner perceives the numerous irregularities, abuses, and corruptions in village punchayets which may be avoided by a few simple rules, and the complete insight and effectual

superintendence that would be gained by a mere report of the potail's proceedings ; he makes his regulations, directs a register to be drawn up, punishes the neglect of his orders regarding it, and from that moment there is an end of village punchayets, until potails shall be found who will undertake those troublesome and unknown forms from mere public spirit, with the chance of punishment and censure for unintentional failure. Not less effectual would be the decision of an inexperienced assistant, acting with that confidence which experience alone confers ; he fines some punchayets for exceeding their powers, and imprisons some potails for confounding their judicial with their fiscal functions ; and the effect of his decision is as complete within his district as if a law had been enacted prohibiting all interference in settling disputes, except by the officers of Government.

‘To avert these dangers, the best plan is to keep this territory for a considerable time under a separate Commissioner, on whose vigilance we must depend for correcting mistakes such as have been described.’

I wish I could add to these copious extracts the concluding remarks on the general disposition of different classes of society to our government, and the probable dangers to which it is exposed. They are too long to quote, and refer chiefly to sources of disaffection which belonged to that period, and have been mitigated or removed by the lapse of time, and the stability which our government has acquired. After pointing out how slightly we could count on the favourable disposition of the great body of the people, and how much we have to apprehend from the jealousy and enmity of the officials and feudatories of the late government, he passes in review the motives which he thought would deter the latter from hazarding their possessions by engaging in any attempt to revive a Mahratta government ; and then describes forcibly the materials for mischief which exist in a country of great natural strength, from the hordes of disbanded soldiers and plunderers who were kept in check ‘*by the greatness of our real power, and the greater force of our reputation.*’ Such dangers, he thought, could

only become formidable in the event of a foreign war, which would cause the withdrawal of troops from the Deekan, or by a prolonged struggle such as that which had lately been brought to a close ; but a ‘timely consciousness of the danger’ would, he thought, be sufficient to provide against it. Against another danger of far more tremendous import he adds a few words of emphatic warning, and they must be given in his own language :—

‘I have left out of the account the dangers to which we should be exposed by any attempt to interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives. These are so obvious that we may hope they will never be braved. The numbers and physical force of the natives are evidently incalculably greater than ours. Our strength consists in the want of energy and the disunion of our enemies. There is but one talisman, that, while it animated and united them all, would leave us without a single adherent: this talisman is the name of religion, a power so odious that it is astonishing our enemies have not more frequently and systematically employed it against us. I do not point out the danger now from any apprehension that Government will ever attempt to convert the natives, but to impress upon it the consequences that would result from any suspicion that it was disposed to encourage such a project. While we enjoy the confidence of the natives our boldest innovations are safe ; but that once lost, our most cautious measures would involve us in danger. It would not then be necessary that we should go so far even as we do now ; the most indifferent action would suffice to excite that fanatical spirit, the springs of which are as obscure as its effects are tremendous.’

The production of this report formed a fitting conclusion of two years of administrative labour, but it in fact marked the commencement of a new era. The newly acquired provinces had passed through a transition period, and it remained to develop and carry out the plans here unfolded ; and a very important part of Mr. Elphinstone’s duties as Governor of Bombay was to continue the work of settlement in the Deekan, and test and modify the proposals of his report. I shall have

occasion to revert to the subject in the next chapter. The pen was hardly dry which signed the report, when he had to proceed to his new government. The change was very great. He quitted a position of great power and responsibility in order to take his post in the limited monarchy of an old-established presidency. His feelings on leaving the scene of useful labour are beautifully expressed in the passage from his journal with which I close this chapter. It is to be remembered that the greater part of his public life had been passed at Poona. He had witnessed, and taken a part in, the great events connected with the last stage of decline and the fall of a great empire, and he had now before him the dull routine of official life during what promised to be a long period of peace. He had to deal with questions foreign to his past official experience. His apprehensions were natural and becoming. How he acquitted himself in his new sphere will appear in the next chapter.

*‘Poona, 11 miles, July 1.—*We came in with a cavalcade of natives, met several friends, and found the line drawn out. Began to put my books in order. The day cloudy, and the heat which began when we came down the first Ghaut, and increased in the second, has become intolerable. This may be owing to change of season, not of place; but during the heat, glare, confinement, and confusion of my bungalow I sighed for my tent and its compact equipment, and for the fine climate we have left. Perhaps I have taken my leave of tents during my stay in India, as I certainly soon shall of a pleasant climate.

*‘July 23.—*I have been very busy, but not making much way, on account of the interruptions of this place; I am winding up before I go to Bombay. That period now draws near, and I look on it with additional dread and disgust as it approaches. What I most fear is the climate; but the society, the nature of the business, and the way it is conducted, also have their share in my dislike.

*‘Oct. 1.—*The weather has cleared up after long and incessant clouds and rain. It is exhilarating, though somewhat hot, and on the whole not so pleasant as the preceding period.

I have finished my Report, after upwards of two months' almost unceasing labour. I have now only some blanks to fill up. I am at present tired of constant drudgery, and long for leisure and books. In reality they might not suit me so well. I might manage in Bombay to read the classics before breakfast for at least an hour every day, beginning with the Latin historians.

'Oct. 13.—I have begun Tacitus on the plan above mentioned. My report being done, I have now a little leisure, and am planning a hog hunt for the day after to-morrow. Last night I received a very handsome entertainment from the society here, and received such proofs of regard as I could never have anticipated. I was very sensible of the kindness of the meeting, but I could not help contrasting the favourable situation in which I have been placed with that which I am now to fill; and when I thought of the expectations entertained, and the means of fulfilling them, I could not but consider the plaudits of the company as the knell of my popularity. It shall not, however, be my fault if such be the case, and perhaps the mere wish to avoid imperfection may be taken for the deed.

"Be just, and fear not;

Let all the ends thou aimest at be thy country's,

Thy God's, and truth's; then if thou failest, O Cromwell!"

This place is full of strangers, and there is a kind of carnival like the races.

'Oct. 21.—We had good hog-hunting at Golygaum on the 16th, and yesterday tried at Parownee: out all day; no sport, but much pleasure. I am here till the 26th.

"Then hie to thy sullen isle,
And gaze upon the sea."

'Oct. 23.—I have been packing up to-day. I am now about to close an era of my life, that of my long residence at Poona. I came here in bad health, disheartened with the disappointment of my sanguine hopes of action, adventure, and distinction in the expected French invasion. This failure cured me of Indian ambition, and the habit was confirmed by the long

period of tranquillity at the Sungum. The nature of my studies, while writing my account of Caubul, had led to habits and ways of thinking very remote from those I had primarily indulged in, and I was settling into retirement, and aversion to bustle and society, when events occurred that forced me to break my quiet. These led in time to the gratification of the sort of ambition which I most desired, and least expected to indulge; and, if I were now retiring from the service, I should have every reason to be contented with the success I have experienced. The period which approaches has neither the literary leisure of my first years at the Sungum, nor the exertion and variety of the last; and I fear that in every respect but money (perhaps in that also) I must henceforth play a losing game. Still I go to Bombay in good spirits. The novelty, the bustle, the new scenes and new faces, all prevent any apprehension of depression and ennui; and if I expected to retain my health, I should not despair of becoming attached to the new life on which I am entering.

'Camp, Ambygaum, Oct. 26.—After sitting up at a ball and second supper till near half-past four, I left Poona at eleven, and did not get clear of petitioners, and persons taking leave, until I passed the Powna at Waukree. I afterwards occasionally stopped to look back to what could still be seen of the scenes where I have passed so many tranquil and pleasing hours. We rode on through Chandkair, and our old hunting-grounds, now rendered doubly interesting by the reflection that I should never more enjoy them. As we came near our ground the scenery improved, and at last we passed over a low ridge, and entered a beautiful valley surrounded by mountains, over which towered the hill forts of Toruj, Tekona, Esapoor, and Loghur. The first two are particularly bold and magnificent. The valley itself is divided by the Powna, and is diversified by some green and sunny knolls, scattered with fine trees. The clouds were dull and heavy, and added greatly to the beauty of the view, both by their own appearance, and by the effect of the light and shadow they produced on the landscape. I feel a sort of respect as well as attachment for this

fine picturesque country which I am leaving for the flat and crowded roads of Bombay, and I cannot but think with affectionate regret of the romantic scenes and manly sports of the Deckan.

ᾠ λύκοι, ᾠ θῶες, ᾠ ἀν' ὄρεα ωφλάδες ἄρκτοι,
 Χαίρεθ'· ἤμμιν ἐγὼ [Δάφνις ὁ βωκόλος] οὐκ ἔτ' ἀν' ὕλαν,
 Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀνὰ δρυμῶς, οὐκ ἄλσεα· χαῖρ' Ἀρέθουσα,
 Καὶ ποταμοί.⁴

⁴ Theoc. *Idyll*. i. 115: 'Ye wolves, ye jackals, ye bears lurking in the mountains, farewell. The herdsman Daphnis no more (will wander) in the woods, nor oak groves, nor glades. Farewell, O Arethusa, and ye rivers.'

CHAPTER XIV.

BOMBAY, 1819-1827.

MR. CANNING AND THE APPOINTMENT TO BOMBAY—FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE PRESIDENCY—CODIFICATION—CORRESPONDENCE—GRANT DUFF'S HISTORY—THE DECKAN REVISITED—MINUTES ON THE EDUCATION AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE NATIVES—RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS—VISIT OF BISHOP HEBER—HIS RECOLLECTIONS OF MR. ELPHINSTONE—DISPUTES WITH THE CHIEF JUSTICE—THE LAST VISIT TO THE DECKAN—THE LAST REPORT—PREPARATIONS FOR DEPARTURE—FAREWELL ADDRESSES.

THE circumstances connected with Mr. Elphinstone's appointment to Bombay are given in Gleig's 'Life of Munro.' On the announcement of the retirement of Sir Evan Nepean, Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, thought that a favourable opportunity was offered of marking the sense which the King's Government entertained of the brilliant services rendered by the Company's servants during the late campaign, and with that view he recommended that the selection should be made between the honoured names of Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Elphinstone, and Colonel Munro.

‘The more general practice of the Court,’ he said in the letter explanatory of his views, ‘is to look for their governors rather among persons of eminence in this country than among the servants of the Company; and when I profess myself to be of opinion that this practice is generally wiser, it is, I am confident, unnecessary to assure you that such opinion is founded upon considerations the very reverse of unfriendly to the Company's real interest: but the extraordinary zeal and ability which have been displayed by so many of the Company's servants, civil and military, in the course of the late brilliant and complicated war, and the peculiar situation in which the results of

that war have placed the affairs of your Presidency at Bombay, appear to me to constitute a case in which any deviation from the general practice in favour of your own service might be at once becoming and expedient.'

It will not admit of dispute that the practice here referred to arose from the influence of the Ministers of the Crown rather than from any leanings on the part of the East India Directors to men of eminence at home, and a full share in the honour of departing from it in this case belongs to Mr. Canning himself.

The Directors being thus invited to select the best man in their service for the vacant governorship, their choice fell on Mr. Elphinstone.

This was a heavy blow to Malcolm. For twenty years he had been in the thick of everything, and enjoyed the confidence of successive Governors-General. At the commencement of this very campaign he held the highest place which it was in the power of the Government to bestow, and now at the close of a brilliant campaign he found himself superseded by one so many years his junior that he complained to his friends, and even to Lord Hastings himself, of the treatment he experienced. We need not attach any weight to the reason assigned at the time for the preference shown to Mr. Elphinstone, that he was a civilian. Munro's reputation rested on his long labours in civil employ rather than on his skill as a soldier. Indeed, each of these distinguished men was a type of the characteristic of the civil and military services in India, their versatility, and the aptitude of their members for peace or war. Canning himself suggested a better reason for the selection when he pointed to the proximity of the newly conquered provinces in the Deckan to the Presidency of Bombay. Their administration could not conveniently be taken out of the hands of one who joined to commanding talents an intimate knowledge of a very peculiar district.

In truth, Elphinstone's reputation for abilities and sound judgment never stood higher than at this time. Sir James

Mackintosh, in his review of the work on Caubul, speaks of Mr. Elphinstone as owing that appointment to his position as the head of the Indian Civil Service. He had hardly arrived at that position even in 1815, when the review was written, but in 1818 he was the foremost man in India. He had not as yet had an opportunity of trying his hand on administrative affairs, but the occasion was soon offered.

It appears from the letter I now give that some compunction was felt at home for Malcolm's disappointment, and Mr. Elphinstone was consulted as to the expediency of an arrangement under which the newly acquired provinces should be placed under him.

Calcutta, July 2, 1819.

'My dear Sir,—Your intimate acquaintance with the management and interest of the Poona territories made your nomination to the Government of Bombay decisive as to the mode of administration most eligible for the conquered countries. Before I learned the choice made by the Directors I had recommended to the Court that the provinces wrested from the Peshwa should be put under the rule of a Lieutenant-Governor, dependent on this Presidency, but the individual whom I represented as immeasurably the fittest for the post was you. With that impression, the disposition of this Government could not be other, when you were appointed to Bombay, than to annex the whole of the Peshwa's late dominions to the Presidency which you were to sway. My private letters, however, manifest a great anxiety, on the part of the Directors, to do something for Sir J. Malcolm; and they point so distinctly at the plan which I had sketched for you as to show a clear inclination to adopt it in favour of Sir J. Malcolm, were it not that I had made your pre-eminence knowledge of those countries my strong ground for urging your appointment to govern them. Now let me ask you, without Sir J. Malcolm's having a suspicion of the step, could such an apportionment be made of the territory as would justify the constituting him, for a time, Lieutenant-Governor of an adequate extent? The suggestion is not to operate against real public convenience,

therefore I trust to you being perfectly frank with me in your answer. I have the honour, &c.,

‘HASTINGS.’

Mr. Elphinstone in his reply warmly approved of the proposal, and entered at some length on the reasons given in his Report on those provinces for retaining them for a time under a provisional administration. He then proceeds, ‘The fear that I might not at first have time to attend sufficiently to these details had almost determined me to recommend that Mr. Chaplin should remain here, as a sort of Commissioner, to conduct these affairs under my instructions, for some months, or perhaps for a year after I should go to Bombay. This plan would be sufficient, and the more important parts could no doubt be attended to at Bombay; but the plan of a Lieutenant-Governor more completely secures the satisfactory accomplishment of them. It is needless to say that there is no man so well suited to conciliate a newly conquered people as Sir John Malcolm, and probably there are few whose administration would be of more solid advantage, either to them or the conquerors, from his enlarged views of policy, and his liberal principles towards the natives. It might be advisable to assist him with a council for the details of civil business, and Mr. Chaplin, whom I have already mentioned, would be well suited to the duty, from his great revenue experience, his general talents and information, and his knowledge of the system that has been acted on hitherto. The other member ought perhaps to be a Bombay civil servant.’

He then throws out some suggestions for the regulation of civil appointments and military commands, and concludes, ‘I have already gone much further into this subject than perhaps your lordship required; but there is one point on which I must remark, although it is less within my range than those I have already touched on. It is the manner in which Sir John Malcolm’s place is to be supplied in Malwa. However quiet that country may be at present, it must retain, in the habits of its inhabitants, and in the character of the many petty govern-

ments of which it is combined, great materials for disturbance; and unless there is a general authority over that country, and perhaps over the neighbouring Rajpoots, in able hands, it seems very likely that these materials may be called into employment by some dispute among the petty states to whom we are teaching the arts of peace. Every disturbance of the public tranquillity is to be dreaded, because, although it is the extension of our dominions that throws loose so many adventurers, yet the scene of any disasters they create will probably be beyond our frontier, and out of the reach of our immediate observations. If your lordship has thought of a fit person for this duty, or if, to your better judgment and superior information, it seems unnecessary, there remains nothing but advantage in Sir John Malcolm's removal to this part of the country. I have the honour to be, &c.,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

It may be observed that the latter letter fails to touch on the real obstacle to the proposed arrangement, viz., the supersession of Elphinstone himself, and we can readily understand that the correspondence went no further. It is gratifying to be able to add, before passing from the subject, that the rivalry of these two distinguished men caused no interruption of their friendship. I have before me many letters that passed between them regarding the appointment, and I give insertion to the following extract from one addressed to Malcolm in illustration of this.

‘I will tell you all I have heard of the appointment to Bombay, which is but little, and mostly or all at second hand. Mr. Palmer in Calcutta writes to Adam that Mr. W. Elphinstone and the Wellesleys were for you. Lord Keith writes that I owe much to the Marquis Hastings and to Mr. Majoribanks, the Deputy Chairman; that Canning was for you, and Lord Liverpool told Lord Keith that, *if he had interest*, he would give it to me. Edward¹ writes, before the

¹ Illegible.

decision took place, that he thought you would gain, of course. Davis, my old master the director, writes that, if he had not been out in rotation, he should have acted for you ; but gives no more particulars. I have given you my speculations already. I think my being here was a great recommendation, both for economy and convenience ; that your being a military man, and an active, enterprising, dashing officer, was against you with people who love quiet ; and I do not think it unlikely that your former *offences*, under Lord Wellesley and his successors, have weighed with some of the Court. I had an advantage that, as little or nothing was known of me, no objection could be started ; and I had no envy to contend with. I say nothing of the candour and good humour with which you write on this occasion, because it is what I firmly expected, and I am certain it is not in your nature to act otherwise. I see, on looking over your letter, you talk with contempt of a pension. I wish I had the pension and you the Government. Surely you would rather be at home, with a good fortune, than gaining any addition to your reputation that is to be gained at Bombay.

‘ M. E.’

The eight years during which Mr. Elphinstone held the Government of Bombay was a term of profound peace throughout India, broken only by the siege of Bhurtpoor in the north, and by the first war with Burmah in 1824. The success of our arms in the late campaign had placed our supremacy beyond any question ; and the task which devolved on the Government comprised the settlement of the newly acquired provinces, and carrying out reforms of internal administration in the old territory which had been thrown aside during the late wars. In the discharge of his new duties Mr. Elphinstone more than sustained the reputation he had already acquired ; but in looking through his minutes (several hundreds in number), copies of which are carefully filed among his papers, I find very few that contain matter of general or permanent interest. Questions of the highest importance occasionally broke in on the monotony of his official life, and called for prompt and ener-

getic action ; and there is hardly a prominent question of Indian administration that is not touched upon in his letters and minutes. I do not, however, find that those who served with or under him at this time—many of whom I have had opportunities of consulting—dwell much on special acts of administration. The theme of all is the same—his character. His earnestness amounted to enthusiasm, and it excited a corresponding enthusiasm in those who knew him and worked with him ; and he laboured with the same energy in the less obtrusive duties of his new position as in the most trying crisis of his former career. Perhaps the most striking tribute to his fame is that he gained the affection and respect of all classes without leaving any dazzling legacy behind. His influence was felt in the tone which he gave to the public service ; and the natives of Western India, who saw and appreciated his labours, erected the most striking memorial to his worth when he left their shores.

When Bombay was but a struggling factory its governors made treaties with the great powers of Western India—with the Mahrattas, with Hyder Ali, and even with the Shah of Persia. The progress of events which raised the Presidency to an important province swept away the greater states ; and there remained only the Court of Baroda with which we had any intimate relation—unless, indeed, we include in the number the Raja of Colapoor. The Mahratta state of which the Guikwar was the head was formed by one of the lieutenants of the Peshwa, and was gradually drawn into alliance with British power for protection against its Mahratta kindred. The first subsidiary treaty was in 1802, and arose, as frequently happened, from a disputed succession. Anund Rao, whose cause we espoused, was of weak intellect ; and his brother, Futteh Sing, was installed as Regent, the government being carried on under the direct control of the British Resident. Large advances had been made to this Mahratta state to enable it to get rid of a body of Arab mercenaries, and clear off their arrears of pay. The territory thus became virtually a British province, and matters remained in this state till Mr. Elphinstone's acces-

sion to the Government of Bombay. Futteh Sing died in 1818, and his brother did not long survive. Their younger brother, Syajee, then succeeded, and the Governor made two visits to Baroda to make arrangements for the administration. Syajee was invested with the uncontrolled powers over his dominions, with what success will appear from Mr. Elphinstone's correspondence.

The Colapoor family was nearly related to the Raja of Sattara. The reigning prince was headstrong and unmanageable. At one time he set at nought his treaty with the British Government, and commenced a series of aggressions against his neighbours that compelled the Government to take prompt measures to pull him up in his career.

So also with regard to the state of affairs in the Persian Gulf and on the frontier of Sind. An expedition had been sent to the former quarter to put down the pirates that infested it. The officer was induced by the information he received to move inland to attack what was believed to be the stronghold of these marauders, and while moving through the desert he fell into an ambuscade. The Arabs charged with the speed of horses, and cut up nearly the whole detachment. Measures were promptly taken by the Bombay Government to retrieve our reputation, and a new expedition was organised with better success, and this was followed up by other steps to protect the trade. It was proposed at one time to occupy an island in the Gulf, but this gave umbrage to the Court of Persia, and was abandoned. Much of the correspondence during the first year of Mr. Elphinstone's administration refers to these transactions, and to our relations with Persia. Our relations with Sind were of slender importance. This frontier, which was occupied by a number of semi-independent chiefs, became unsettled, and marauders from Sind added to the confusion. Measures were taken to put down the nuisance, and this led to a violation of the territory of the Ameers, but as the two Governments acted with temper and reason the difficulty passed over without trouble.

Thus much is necessary to explain allusions in the letters and extracts from journals which follow.

(*To the Hon. John Adam.*)

‘Parell, Dec. 3, 1819.

‘My dear Adam,—

‘Now to answer your questions. How I like Bombay? Very well; and the first month, which you thought would be so disagreeable, better than I expect to like any future month. There were no troublesome forms and ceremonies, and much novelty and variety. The new and unknown details you allude to give me little trouble, as I have always Warden to tell me what is usual; and as to the new business not of detail, I like learning it. Besides, I am not nearly so hard worked as in the Deckan; and much of my work (that is, much of what takes up my time) is half play, such as talking to people who come to me on business instead of puzzling over records or pumping natives, going to Council, going to church. What I dread, detest, and abhor, to a degree which I fancy never was equalled, is making speeches, and ceremonies of that nature. I avoid them as much as I can by avowing my horror of the practice; but sometimes they occur. All the other people of Bombay harangue to such a degree that if I were Charles Fox I should hold my tongue on purpose to put down the fashion. No party of thirty meets without thirty regular speeches. This, though sometimes amusing, is the great reproach of Bombay; otherwise the society is pleasant and easy, at least as much so as Calcutta. People either always dance or have a good deal of music and singing when there is a party, and no stiff private circle. The Governor, too, by the custom of Bombay, constantly drives out, and is quite a private gentleman, which suits well with my habits and tastes. Now for the bad side. The climate, though pleasant enough at this season, must be dreadful in the hot weather. The rides, though beautiful, are confined. There is a great deal of trifling business and details with which a Government ought not to be plagued, because they bind it down to particulars, and prevent the general and constant superintendence, and the consideration of the past, the

present, and the future, which ought to be its essential duty. Another annoyance, inasmuch as it is a loss of time, is the Council. Ours is perfectly well-intentioned, good-humoured, and unanimous on great points; but of course they often differ on particular cases, and much time is lost in minute writing. For instance, if a collector in a new district applies for tents for his native establishment on a circuit of his district, I say "Granted," but another member of the Government writes a minute to show that his case differs from Mr. So-and-so's case, in which tents were formerly allowed, and it takes half an hour to reply. On the other hand, the Councillors save a good deal of trouble, as I am able to refer to them matters which I do not understand myself. You ask how I like Sir Charles Colville. Very much; he is a plain, gentlemanly, good sort of fellow—a most distinguished officer, and quite free from all sort of fuss and military affectation—like a real Wellingtonian. There is a good long letter for you.

‘Your ever-affectionate,

‘M. E.’

Meditations on the past and resolutions as to his future conduct recur very frequently in the journal which he kept during the first year or two of his life in Bombay. He adopted a sort of shorthand mode of expressing himself, composed of abbreviations of Greek words, some of which seem to refer to resolves as to conduct, others to notes of passing matters. I have not attempted to decipher them. Their general purport is apparent on the face.

He had made a great sacrifice of his inclinations in renouncing his hope of returning home, and it was long ere he could reconcile himself to several more years of banishment. He suffered, too, from some fits of depression, which showed that the climate was telling on him, and against which he struggled manfully.

From this he was roused by a visit to Baroda, the principal object being to meet Syajee, examine the accounts, and generally make himself acquainted with the leading men of the state and its affairs. The journal he kept during the summer

is a record of hard work with the Guikwar, mixed with notes of the country, a description of the Court, and some enthusiastic passages suggested by the reading of Tasso.

‘*April 12.*—I returned yesterday from Guzerat. My journey is in another book. Read Crabbe’s “*Tales of the Hall.*” I used formerly to lament that I should, by the course of my life, have lost happiness without gaining glory. This reflection has been particularly strong since I gave up my plan of going to Europe, in consequence of my appointment to this place. I wonder I never perceived the miserable selfishness of it. I have here uncommon opportunities of doing good on a great scale, if I only labour and be zealous, and yet I stand repining after happiness and glory. I do most earnestly desire to shake off this reproach, and my desire is perhaps strengthened by the knowledge that a generous enthusiasm for promoting the good of others would bring that happiness, and perhaps even that glory, which were disregarded for its sake.

‘*May 28.*—Sir T. and Lady Munro went off. I am more than ever delighted with him; besides all his old sound sense and dignity, all his old good humour, simplicity, and philanthropy, Sir Thomas now discovered an acquaintance with literature, a taste and relish for poetry, and an ardent and romantic turn of mind, which counteracted the effect of his age and sternness, and gave the highest possible finish to his character. I felt as much respect for him as for a father, and as much freedom as with a brother. He is certainly a man of great natural genius, matured by long toil in war and peace.’

The questions which now engaged the largest share in his interest were the preparation of a code of laws and the education of the people. Both subjects were pressed on his colleagues almost immediately after his accession to the government. His proposals for the improvement of the education of the natives were not, however, matured till three or four years later, and will be mentioned further on. To the question of codification he applied himself at once, and one of the first acts of his administration was to form a committee for the purpose of revising and reducing to system the regulations of the Presidency.

The aim of those who had hitherto taken in hand the improvement of the judicial administration of India had been to lay before the public in an intelligible form the legal standards of the natives themselves. The judges were enjoined to administer to the people their own civil law, and the machinery for its administration was framed with that view. Assessors were attached to every court, learned in the Shasters or in Mohammedan law; but very little confidence was placed in their interpretation, and during the administration of Warren Hastings and his successors two works had been completed and translated in order to place within the reach of English judges a compendium of the laws of the Hindoos. On the subject of inheritance original works had been translated, and this last branch of the Indian law gradually assumed some shape. There the matter remained; the digest of Hindoo law prepared under the direction of Sir William Jones, and translated by Mr. Colebrooke, so far as it regarded the law of contracts, proved of little value as a guide to our courts, and it only covered a limited part of the province of jurisprudence.

Mr. Elphinstone's aim was wider, and embraced the grand scheme of Bentham of forming a complete code. His letters from Poona, while Commissioner of the conquered provinces, show how eagerly he took the subject up; but he was quite alive to the difficulties of a task which, though taken in hand by the Imperial Government in 1833, was not carried out, even partially, till some thirty years later. He now entered upon it with his usual enthusiasm, and one of the first acts of his administration of Bombay was to appoint a committee for the work.

Their task embraced two distinct objects: (1) a revision of the regulations of the Government; (2) a systematic inquiry into the existing customs and usages of the people.

The regulations or statutes passed by the Governments of each Presidency dealt with the constitution of the courts, civil and criminal, and their procedure; they laid down an imperfect criminal code, established rules for the guidance of officers engaged in the settlement of the land revenue, as also

on other subjects of taxation, and many other details of administration, besides settling some questions of substantial law, as that of master and servant, landlord and tenant, which could not conveniently be left undefined, and forced themselves on the attention of the Government from time to time.

I avail myself of the terms in which Mr. Justice Stephen speaks of Mr. Elphinstone's labours in this cause, in an address delivered to the National Association for Promotion of Social Science, on Codification in India and in England, on the opening of the session 1872-3. He speaks in high terms of Lord Lawrence's administration of the Punjaub, and especially of the codes which were drawn up under his direction, which he considers as beyond all comparison superior to the laws which existed at that time in India. The experience of the Punjaub (which was afterwards repeated in Oude) was in his opinion conclusive as to the value of clear, short, and simple rules for the guidance of the servants of the State.

'He was not, however,' he added, 'the first Indian statesman who had set an example in this direction. Mountstuart Elphinstone, when Governor of Bombay, had done a great and important work of the same kind. Under his administration the whole of the Bombay regulations were formed into a code, regularly arranged according to their subject-matter. This code consists of twenty-seven regulations, subdivided into chapters and sections. It refers to the same subjects as the Bengal Regulations, but differs from them in the circumstance that it contains a body of substantial criminal law which remained in force till it was superseded by the criminal code, and which had very considerable merits, though it would probably not have supported the test of strict professional criticism, to which indeed it was not intended to be subjected.'

The first of the two tasks which the Government of Bombay took in hand at the instance of the Governor was light compared with that of preparing a civil code, and it could do little more than prepare the way for future labourers in this field. Mr. Colebrooke, in the preface to his translation of two treatises

on 'The Hindoo Law of Inheritance,' remarks that 'in the law of contracts, the rules of decision observed in the jurisprudence of different countries are in general dictated by reason and good sense, and rise naturally, though not always obviously, from the plain maxims of equity and right. But the rules of succession to property, being in their nature arbitrary, are in all systems of law merely conventional.' Reason and good sense might in the course of time have raised in India a complete body of law, as it did in Rome and in modern Europe, had the bench been filled by the ablest members of the service, instead of being the most neglected branch of Indian administration, and had the decisions of the tribunals been carefully reported and reduced to system; but in truth the law of contracts, as of other subjects of litigation, rests very largely on convention, and no Indian judge could apply the equity and good sense with which he was supposed to be endowed without an intimate knowledge of the customs of the people; and in the application of general principles he had to rely on such evidence as could be produced in the course of the suit. The difficulties which attended the administration of justice in such circumstances are fully explained in the following extract from a minute recorded by the Governor in July, 1823:—

'The Dhurm Shaster, it is understood, is a collection of ancient treatises neither clear nor consistent in themselves, and now buried under a heap of more modern commentaries, the whole beyond the knowledge of perhaps the most learned pundits, and every part wholly unknown to the people who live under it. Its place is supplied in many cases by known customs, founded indeed on the Dhurm Shaster, but modified by the convenience of different castes or communities, and no longer deriving authority from any written text. The uncertainty of all decisions obtained from such sources must be obvious, especially when required for the guidance of a foreign judge, himself a stranger both to the written law, and to the usage which in cases supplies its place. The usual resource, when the Shaster has to be consulted, is to refer to the pundit of the court, on whose integrity the justice of the decision must

in the first instance depend. Supposing, however, that he is honest and learned (which last quality is not now common, and must daily become more rare), he has the choice of a variety of books to quote from, and in many instances the same book has a variety of decisions on the same question. When the question depends on customs the evil is at least as great; the law is then to be collected from the examinations of private individuals, the looseness of tradition must lead to contrary opinions; and even when any rule is established, it is likely to be too vague to be easily applied to the case in point. Add to this the chance of corruption, faction favour, and other sources of partiality among witnesses. There are but two courses by which a remedy can be applied. The first is to make a new code founded entirely on general principles, applicable to all ages and nations. The second is to endeavour to compile a complete and consistent code from the mass of written law and the fragments of tradition, determining on general principles of jurisprudence those points where the Hindoo books and traditions present only conflicting authorities, and perhaps supplying on similar principles any glaring deficiencies that may remain when the matter for compilation has been exhausted. The first of these courses, if otherwise expedient, is rendered entirely impracticable here by the attachment of the natives to their own institutions, and by the degree to which their laws are interwoven with their religion and manners. The second plan is, therefore, the only one which it is in our power to pursue. The first step towards the accomplishment of its objects appears to be to ascertain in each district whether there is any book of acknowledged authority, either for the whole or any branch of the law. The next is to ascertain what exceptions there are to the written authorities, and what customs and conditions exist independent of them. The best modes of conducting these inquiries are—first, to examine the Shastrees, heads of castes, and other persons likely to be acquainted either with the law, the custom of castes, or the public opinion regarding the authority attached to each; and, second, to extract from the records of the courts of justice the information already ob-

tained on these subjects in the course of judicial investigation.'

The work which was compiled in pursuance of this plan was drawn up by Mr. Steele, an able young Civil servant, and is very comprehensive in its treatment of the whole subject, as it not merely gives an account of the legal treatises in the original Sanscrit which were held in repute, but a mass of information regarding rules of caste, marriage, inheritance, and the customary law in some branches of contract, gathered by inquiries through various channels, official and private. This work was followed up by a series of reports of the decisions of the courts of law, prepared by Mr. Borradaile, another member of the Civil Service; and by a translation by the same gentleman of a work on inheritance. These different works did not appear till the year in which Mr. Elphinstone left India.

The extract from a letter to Mr. Strachey, which I now quote, is in continuation of the same subject. His friend's duties in the Examiner's department in the India Office lay chiefly with judicial administration, and Mr. Elphinstone's correspondence naturally reverted to these topics.

'Bombay, Sept 3, 1820.

'My dear Strachey,—I was greatly delighted with your account of Jeremy Bentham. I had a great curiosity about him, which was fully gratified. He is certainly a man of first-rate talents, but also of first-rate eccentricity; which, both in his doctrines and his personal habits, probably arises from his little intercourse with the world. I was extremely flattered by his present of books, and know no author from whom I should so highly have valued such a distinction. When I last wrote to you at length, I was thinking of employing the Bengal counsellors whom I expected to get at Poona to form a code from the Hindoo law (as administered under the Brahmins), and the customs of the Mahratta country, corrected in some cases by our own; but I got no counsellors, and the more I contemplated the undertaking the more formidable it seemed. A body of foreigners should certainly be cautious how they

made a code for a nation which they imperfectly know, and the more perplexed the present system of laws, the greater should be their caution. In the present instance you may take the Hindoo law for your basis ; but that must be hunted out of numerous books of nearly equal authority. We talk of Menu, but we might, as you of course know, just as well talk of the twelve tables in modern Rome. When you have found out the Hindoo law not half your task is accomplished, for it is the custom of the country that regulates most things ; and the difficulty of ascertaining it is so great, that you may doubtless recollect civil suits in which you have had to spend many days in examining evidence, to find out what is the custom on some particular point, and yet have been diffident in your own decision after all. It may be said a system so imperfectly known would be no loss if abolished, and any laws clearly understood would be better for the people ; but this is not true ; for people, although they have not precise notions about particulars, have yet general notions, which, though vague, seem to keep them within the law ; just as in England, though no man pretends to know the laws under which he holds his life and property, he is yet able to keep out of scrapes by some loose traditionary notions, imbibed one scarcely knows where or how. Such notions are more difficult to eradicate than written laws are to alter, and therefore, if you made a new code, you would for a long time have people acting on impressions which you had rendered inapplicable ; and it would require a vast deal of confusion and inconvenience to work them into your new system. That system also might be wrong after all ; many parts of Lord Cornwallis's system were well weighed, and none more than the great question regarding the rights of zemindars. Yet a mistake was committed, which unsettled the condition of all the inhabitants of our territories that were at all connected with the land, and left it to the Adawluts to fix their new relations to each other. This led to an infinity of lawsuits. The courts were unable to afford justice to the crowd of claimants that assailed them. The consequence was that the weak were left at the mercy of the strong, and

the ryots were reduced to entire dependence, and almost to bondage. An incidental effect of the same mistake was the overthrow of the village corporations, the ruin of the police, and the horrors of dacoity. This and similar instances make me cautious, you will perhaps say timid, when you read the enclosed, which shows the very moderate lengths to which I venture to go. The great security for the efficiency of this committee is in the character of Mr. Erskine, a gentleman out of the service, distinguished for the solidity of his understanding and the extent of his knowledge. Small as these improvements are, I expect difficulties in carrying them through, impatience of the expense, insensibility to the difficulty and the necessity of delay, aversion to innovations in some points, and eagerness for the introduction of crude attempts at improvement in others.'

I return to the journal:—

'*Sept. 24.*—Rode to church; something put me strongly in mind of the valley near Mirzapore, and of the times when I used to spend days in a cave there, reading Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus, and talking with Ross. This led to a review of my employment, and reading, and thoughts in those days, which I pursued for upwards of two hours, and brought down to my arrival at Poona in 1811. The employment was very pleasing, and I think profitable. It withdrew me from the fancies of the moment, and enabled me to take in the past and the future. The result was favourable; most of the time I have passed has been happy, and the periods of most real happiness are made up of materials that will always be at my command. Times of gaiety and of strong interest have most effect in a distant view, while those of solitary study look rather cheerless at a distance; but, when examined, the former are found to be strongly mixed with uneasiness, and the latter to abound in sober and tranquil enjoyment. Hope alone is likely to be counter to the enjoyment of old age, and this may be obtained if one can enter on any long work that holds out a reasonable prospect of reputation; such, for instance, as a history of India. But this must not be undertaken too soon.

It must occupy a long period, and it must be so executed as to repay in reputation the pains bestowed on it, else the disappointment of former hopes will embitter the succeeding period.

‘In the meantime I have plenty to interest and to awaken the hope of usefulness and credit. Let us attend to those objects, be independent of delusions, and enjoy the happiness that springs from—

“Vacant hand and heart and eye.”’

In the interval between this and the following entry he started for Surat, passing Bassein, which brought to his recollection the events of 1803. On approaching General Coxe’s tents at Perrojun the troop-horse he was riding came down, and his collar-bone was fractured, and he proceeded to Surat by sea. While there laid up he received news of a disaster in the Persian Gulf, which is referred to in a letter to Malcolm which follows this extract from his journal:—

‘*Surat, Dec. 15.*—I have now been here three weeks, and have got new turns of ideas. It is astonishing how little I have read. At first I tried Goldsmith’s “Citizen of the World” and other light reading, but though pleased with Goldsmith, it could not keep off ennui. I then read most of Paley’s “Philosophy,” and was pleased with his plain, manly sense, though I thought it sometimes deserted him. I read “Childe Harold,” cantos three and four, with great admiration, especially canto three. Lord Byron delights by his powerful description, his deep and strong feeling, his admiration of nature, and his sense of beauty, which is enthusiastic, and almost divine; but he is not without his faults, and these, independent of his gloomy misanthropy, are his extravagance, mysticism, and obscurity, and his hankering after loves and ladies, even on occasions the least suitable. Such are his tedious speculations about Metella, and his misplaced licentiousness at the Grotto of Egeria. I likewise read “Beppo” and “Parisina” (which last is most beautiful), and “Manfred.” The wild elevation of this last poem shows greater power in the author than any of Lord

Byron's works, though, as a poem, it is inferior to "Childe Harold." There is something wonderfully sublime in the ease with which Lord Byron generally moves in the high and cloudy region to which he has transported himself; but he sometimes has most lamentable failures, and, generally speaking, the parts where supernatural beings appear in their own persons are the least happy of the poem. "Manfred" led me to "Prometheus," which I read with a good deal of help from the Latin. I will candidly own I am not sure which gave me most pleasure in the perusal; but, on looking back, I have no hesitation which to prefer. Both have sublime passages. I am most struck with those in Æschylus, though perhaps the calm grandeur and majesty of Lord Byron's mountains may equal the storms and tempests, the thunders and the earthquakes of his rival. Both have their failures; and the superhuman characters of Lord Byron, though much more dim, shadowy, and unreal than those in "Prometheus," are perhaps more dignified and more refined. But the merit of each depends almost exclusively on the principal character, and here the distance is immense. Manfred, although he rises above other men (and even that not without effort, and not without self-complacency), is a pigmy by the side of Prometheus. The divinity and immortality of the Titan, his sublime energies and boundless knowledge, though they would of themselves command our veneration, have yet a more powerful effect by increasing our sense of the intensity of his sufferings and the vastness of his endurance, and by raising to the highest pitch our admiration of his tenderness and humanity, and of his generous self-devotion. That a being, however great, should set himself up in opposition to the supreme Jupiter, that he should despise his threats and defy his thunders, would alone exalt the mind of the reader; but that such a being should melt with pity for the woes of mankind, and should, in his irresistible desire to relieve them, impose on himself those horrors which he so well foresaw, is inexpressibly inspiring and affecting, and reaches the highest pitch both of sublimity and pathos. I also read the "Fox," the "Alchemist," and the "Silent Woman," and am sorry to say the effect was to impress me with a

great contempt for Ben Jonson. The plots are incredible and absurd, the language vulgar, and the characters neither great in the conception nor clear in the drawing. Ben Jonson seems to have laid himself out to delineate and to ridicule the fashions of his day, and to this he seems to have confined himself. He has alchemists, bullies, fops, citizens, usurers, &c., all in their appropriate manners and costumes, but never going beyond the characteristics of their class, or reminding us for a moment that they are branches of the great stock of human nature. The consequence is that the interest in the picture has perished with the memory of the original, its resemblance to which was its only merit. It is perhaps impossible to conceive a greater contrast in this respect than exists between Jonson and Shakespeare, and it is only when one sees the innumerable peculiarities that existed in his age that one is taught to wonder at the little use the latter has made of them, and at the degree to which he has confined himself to the great features which all ages and nations have in common. Jonson has been idly compared to Shakespeare as a writer of comedy. I should be much more inclined to liken him to Reynolds, or some of the modern poets whose only merit lies in hitting off the fashion of the day. I have read some other few trifles, but none worth mentioning, even if I were not too tired to mention anything. To conclude, the general character of the times has been listless vacaney, occupied but not disturbed by reflections, yet sometimes varied by the remembrance of times of interest and pleasure, and by the feelings which those recollections naturally excite.'

When he had to some extent recovered from the effect of his accident, he started on a long tour through Kattewar, passing the Runn of Cutch to Ahmedabad, and thence back to Bombay *viâ* Baroda. The following letter was written during the journey:—

‘Camp, Mora, January 31, 1821.

‘My dear Malcolm,—A variety of causes have prevented my writing to you or anybody for a long period; one of them was that I had not the use of my hand for six weeks at least,

I was not the less thankful for your letters, though I did not acknowledge them, and I hope to make up by my punctuality hereafter for my involuntary silence.

‘I hope, although you are not to send circulars, that you will keep me acquainted with what goes on in Central India. I hear there is a great expedition going against the Meenas. What is it about? I likewise hear of some sort of commotion at Kotah. What is it? Most of our Bombay news you see in the papers. I need, therefore, only tell, what they cannot, how everything is going on in a general view. The disaster in the Gulf has as yet produced no material ill consequence. A strong force is sent to wipe off the disgrace we have suffered, and at the same time we are to proclaim our determination to confine our views to the extirpation of piracy, and not to take part in the disputes of the Arab states. Captain Thompson is removed for departing from this policy by marching into the interior, contrary to the instructions issued to Sir W. Keir, by advising the Imaum to insist on terms not necessary towards the suppression of piracy, and by promising the Imaum to support him against *all* enemies. We are to keep a small force at Kishmi, to make descents, and destroy boats and other means of maritime war, whenever any symptoms of piracy reappear. We have not heard the result of our naval expedition to Mocha. The object is to procure the punishment of a dowleh who beat and insulted one of our marine officers, the repayment of property plundered on that occasion, and a more reasonable and secure footing for our factory in future. Sind is quiet and amicable, almost *loving*. Our envoys only task us to get some effectual means adopted to check border depredations, which the Sindees seem anxious to do; but some little depredation you must have on the borders of an Asiatic empire. I will send you a paper I have just written on this country (Cutch); it is longer than you will care to read. The north-western frontier which I am next to visit is occupied by about half a dozen petty Rajpoot and Mohammedan chiefs, independent of all the world, but bound by treaty to co-operate with us against the plunderers of the desert, and to pay such a proportion of

the expense we are put to in defending them. The famine, the plague, the earthquake, and the Khosas have, however, put it out of their power to pay much at present. They are quiet people, and their Marwar and Meywar neighbours do not give us much trouble. The object of my visit is to see clearly who the plunderers of the desert are, and whether there is any remedy for the evil they have occasioned besides force, and the aid of the Sindees, and likewise to fix the footing of our petty allies. Next come our possessions in Guzerat, which are governed, as far as revenue and police go, almost exactly in the way in which they were before we came. It seems to answer well; for the people are far better lodged and clothed than any I ever saw in India; there is no such thing as a suit in court for arrears of revenue, and even in the judicial branch there seems to be less evil than elsewhere, as there are but few arrears, and no complaints that I hear of. These districts are bounded on the north through their whole extent by independent and lawless coolies, and many villages of the same people are mixed all through our possessions. These people pay a small tribute, and those within our districts are subject to the Adawlut. Yet the quiet and good conduct of the whole is quite miraculous. The great body of these tributaries, extending from Pahlampore to Raj Pimplee, east of Broach, are under the Guikwar, and were in constant hot water while he kept a force there. Our Resident two or three years ago got it withdrawn, and they have been quiet since, but have paid no tribute. By the last arrangement at Baroda, the management of them devolves on us, and I am going through their country to see what is to be done to keep things as quiet as they are without the Guikwar's losing his tribute. The Guikwar himself is going on very well, and has given none of the trouble which I expected when he was first let loose. Kattewar is divided among about 300 chiefs, whose revenues vary in extent from 1,200,000 rupees to one hundred rupees. All are sovereign and independent within their own lands, though tributary to the Company or the Guikwar. They were formerly constantly engaged in wars among themselves, and liable to the annual devastation of a

Mahratta army; but Colonel Walker in 1805 fixed their tribute, and afterwards repressed their disorders. They are now quite peaceable, but circumstances have prevented their being prosperous. Famine, the plague, the cholera, and the incursions of marauders from Cutch and the desert have carried off a third of the population, and left almost all the chiefs in debt and difficulty. It was almost settled under the late Government of Bombay that the only remedy, indeed the only way of securing the tribute, was to take charge of the lands of almost all the chiefs, farm each to a person under our control, and allot a certain sum to the expenses of the proprietor. In ten or twelve years this would recover their affairs, and we were then to restore them to their lands. I think this so great an interference that it would annoy the chiefs, and bring on quarrels between them and their farmers, and that we could not manage the details of so many petty governments; that we ought therefore to leave each to manage his own lands, and only require the assignment of a sufficient portion of land to cover our tribute to some banker, who should become responsible for the payment of the tribute. This is a subject on which you have great experience, and I should be very much obliged if you would tell me what you think of the original plan. I have now mentioned all the Bombay territories except the Deccan, which is still managed by a commissioner on the principles of my former report. So much for local arrangements. The only general ones we have on foot are a reform of the regulations by a committee composed of Erskine, Babington, an excellent judge (who is president), and Captain Robertson, a celebrated collector. A new digest of our military regulations, and a college which has been suspended by the opposition of my colleagues to my plan for grafting a native college on the European one, so as to educate native instruments of Government, as well as young civil servants, and likewise to preserve and encourage native learning. I have said so much of Bombay that I have no room left for Malwa; but of it I have little to say. I am astonished that there should be any doubt of the policy of keeping everything there under

one head. I expect great disorders after you are gone, unless our troops are greatly increased to make up in force what we shall want in management. I was much struck by an observation of yours on the necessity of opening a door to the employment of natives. Certainly if we do not do so we must make them either serfs or rebels; but how is it to be avoided? Can you answer this important and difficult question?

‘I hope not to see you in July, for I still hope you will be kept in the centre of India; but if I do, I will give you a dinner and get somebody else to make a speech on the Order of the Bath, for I cannot say “thank you” when my health is drunk. If I make a speech, it will be conspicuous, like marriage, for Grand Crosses and little ease. Yours most sincerely,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

‘Camp at Sookaltteerit, April 21, 1821.

‘My dear Strachey,—I have just read your attack on the judicial part of my Report, and although in the midst of inquiries into the revenue system of this district, Broach, I cannot help giving you a few words in reply. I was a little dismayed at first at such a tirade from my old master, but I soon found it was rather directed at others than at me, that our opinions do not essentially differ, and that where they do mine are the most cautious.

‘I kept up punchayets because I found them. I did what I could to improve them, and I pointed out the remedy to adopt if they should ultimately prove unsuccessful. I still think that the punchayet should on no account be dropped, that it is an excellent institution for dispensing justice, and for keeping up the principles of justice, which are less likely to be observed among a people to whom the administration of it is not at all entrusted. I likewise think that it (the punchayet) will probably never be sufficient to afford justice to all, and that the remedy lies in numerous native judges with European superintendence. As to regulations, I think they should be introduced by degrees; I doubt whether anybody could tell what was good

for the Mahrattas. I was certain that I could not, and I therefore wanted to be taught by time. I might guess the effect of a single law on a people whom I had long observed; you might tell it with more confidence; Bentham might pronounce it with certainty: but for the effect of a whole code, applied to an almost unknown people, we are all nearly on a level. I long to see the new *traités de la législation*. I greatly admire what I have read of Bentham, including half the whole *traités*. You undervalue the Bombay courts; I at least, in a tour I am just completing, am delighted with them, and am very certain of their advantage as a check on the collector. But you also greatly undervalue Munro, who has more marks of genius than most men I have seen, a clear and sagacious head in peace and war, original and correct views on all subjects, a real love of the natives and of mankind, without cant or sentiment, firmness approaching to inflexibility, great indulgence for others, good taste, candour, frankness, and simplicity, that make one at home with him in a minute, and almost made me regret that I was forty and he sixty, both past the days of sudden confidence. He has some prejudices about the judicial system; but even they arise from principles in which you would agree. It is not enough to give new laws, or even good courts; you must take the people along with you, and give them a share in your feelings, which can only be done by sharing theirs. I am in a great hurry. I have been upwards of five months away from Bombay, and must be back by the first week in May. I have seen and examined Kattewar, Cutch, the petty chieftains in the north-western frontier, the Mahee Caunta chiefs, and above all our own districts of Ahmedabad and Kanir, but I have still Broach to finish and Surat to understand. I shall be much better fitted for my duty when I get back. Still it is an uncertain, and perhaps an unprofitable task; I am sometimes in great good humour with the thoughts of doing good. In more rational moments I am convinced that anybody else would do as much, and a great many much more. In short, I wish I were quite at home, if it were only to see whether there is anything to look forward to. You seem to me to have got new

life since you got to London and business. I fancy, after all, there is no doing without action and adventure.

‘Yours ever,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

Journal.

‘*Bombay, Nov. 25, 1821.*—I have not mentioned the views here, they are really delightful. I go out to them of an evening with a sort of avidity and impatience, and quit them with regret. Among all my gloomy forebodings it is a comfort that I have never lost my relish for nature nor for poetry. Five days ago I ran over Blacker,² and was annoyed to find that he suppressed all my share in the conduct of the war in the Deccan. I have since looked over my correspondence, and am pleased to find I had not overrated my own part in those transactions. I am pretty well reconciled to Blacker’s silence by recollecting my annoyance at being praised above my merits before. I have now the consciousness of being better than I am represented.

‘*Dec. 2.*—On the 29th we had an entertainment to Malcolm, which went off admirably in all respects, and, as far as regarded him, with enthusiasm. I have been in town ever since, and I have now returned, having seen Malcolm off. I much regret his departure, and we shall doubtless often miss his spirits and good humour, while we forget his noise and his egotism. I have all along reproached myself for my want of tolerance for the single defect of one of the first and best men I know.’

(To Major Close, Gwalior.)

‘Bombay, November 15, 1821.

‘Blacker’s book is come; I would send it to you, and now I think of it, I will send it to you. It is written, as far as I can judge from a glance at some parts of it, with much more freedom and ease than one would have expected. It seems

² *Memor of the Mahratta War of 1817–19.*

lively, sensible, and, as far as Blacker is personally concerned (with Malcolm, for instance), candid and liberal. It is perhaps a little too technical, and too full for the regularity and the importance of the transactions to which it relates. I have myself some reason to complain of it, for after blaming my interference in the conduct of the war and the system which gave me the power to do so,³ it withholds the fruits of my usurpation, mentions all the arrangements in the Deckan as if they had taken place of themselves, and concludes by ascribing "the expulsion of the Peshwa," and consequent revolution in the Mahratta empire, the most important since its establishment, to the "personal" conduct of Sir T. Hislop.'

(*To W. Erskine, Esq.*)

'Dec. 25, 1821.

'We were also talking at the Society this evening of the collection of inscriptions, especially those connected with the Jains. It appeared to us that it would not be difficult to get some person in almost every district to take an interest in the work, so far as to superintend the labours of a native or two, who might be employed under him. Norris in Cutch, Barnwall in Kattewar, Miles on North-west frontier, Grant at Sattara, &c. &c., would probably have zeal enough for this; but it is necessary, in the first place, to have some instructions drawn out, to show what sort of inscriptions are desirable, and what errors to guard against in transcribing them; and in the second, it is necessary that somebody should arrange them when transcribed, and point out in what place the search after inscriptions or inquiries connected with them should be pursued. Mr. Walter would, I have no doubt, make out an explanatory catalogue of the inscriptions as they came in, and Kennedy says he would undertake a good deal of correspondence, but somebody is required to direct the whole, and this

³ Note by Mr. E.:—'See in the reflections on the battle of Seetabuldee and Kirkee.'

must certainly be you. Now do you think that by a plan such as I have mentioned many valuable inscriptions might be got with accuracy enough to make them useful? and could you have time and inclination to look over the proceedings of the rest, and to select inscriptions for translation and publication? You will probably have leisure in your present retirement to consider this subject, and (if you think the object attainable) to draw up some notes of instructions. One grand object would be to endeavour to get some clue to the characters used in the cave inscriptions, which might possibly throw some light on the state of the south and west of India before the complete and exclusive establishment of the Brahmins and the Sanscrit. For this purpose, Sanscrit inscriptions, contiguous to others in the unknown characters, would be carefully collected, as likely to throw light upon the latter. Grants of land in the unknown character are to be found on copper plates, and will be valuable from the assistance which a knowledge of the subject would give in deciphering them, and from the chance of Sanscrit for a character, sunnuds to the same effect being preserved in the same family. What you say of the desirableness of collecting the words in each of the Indian languages which are derived from some other root besides Sanscrit, suggests the question how far it would be possible to do anything in furtherance of Sir James Mackintosh's plan for collecting vocabularies. Vocabularies might easily be got, and I fancy were got at that time. I for one sent six or seven languages from Nagpoor, but for want of some arrangement they were formerly lost if sent, and would be so again, unless some one would class them, and enter them in books to be printed, or to have copies sent to one or two learned societies, as was thought best. This would be a fine accompaniment for your proposed collection of alphabets; but it is much easier to project than to execute, and you may not be able to pitch on any person likely to take so much trouble as even to arrange the vocabularies. It is a pity that an appointment devoted to scientific objects like Dr. Marshall's should be allowed to die away when once founded. A person in such a situation

might always be looked on for such tasks as I have been alluding to. Do you know one at all calculated to fit the place?

‘Yours most sincerely,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

Journal, 1822.

‘*Jan. 4.*—I finished Sir George Thornton’s extracts accompanying the Chinese ambassador’s narrative. They are very well chosen to show the real state of the Chinese. In their manners I was struck with their respect for letters, and their sociability and conviviality, though it seems entirely confined to the men. Their disregard of their women is indeed the most conspicuous among their defects. A girl of remarkable abilities is deliberately given away in marriage without ever consulting her; and then she is to be one of two wives, and not the best beloved though she is the heroine of the novel. The puerility of the plays and novels also gives an unfavourable opinion of the people.

‘In the Government the first thing that strikes is the absolute despotism. This appears in the sudden and severe punishment of people of the highest rank, the strictness with which respect to the Emperor is secured, his disregard of the advice of councils, and desire that they will be silent on particular subjects when his mind is made up, and his evident desire to do everything himself.

‘These councils of State, however, are a very remarkable feature in the Chinese Government. They ought to give permanency and consistency to the Acts of the Government, as the occasional councils summoned (like punchayets for the trial of individuals) should ensure impartiality and moderation. This must be the case in a great degree, although there is a good deal of fluctuation in councils and caprice in punishment in spite of them. The continued removing and degrading officers of the highest station, and sometimes those who have been highly praised, is indeed a very remarkable trait in this Government, as well as the arbitrary and severe punishments of people of the same class, who are often put to death on far

more slender grounds than Admiral Byng. Ill success, indeed, seems enough to take off a viceroy's head without much further inquiry. From the novel also it appears that the despotism of the emperors and the vigilance of the council do not prevent oppression, and even perhaps violence, by courtiers and the magistracy, and the gazettes show some oppressions which, though corrected by the Government, prove a contempt for the people inconsistent with any good government—such as the giving away the released female prisoners in marriage to domestics, &c.

‘These gazettes are themselves a great curiosity. The simplicity of their style gives a very favourable impression of them; and the desire of publicity and regard for public opinion, which is evinced by their existence, give notions of the Chinese Government much above what we have of other Asiatics; but if these and the great use of councils be deducted, I see nothing at all superior to the Mogul Government in India, and some things inferior.

‘*Jan. 6.*—I have been reading Ellis. The Chinese seem a good sort of people—superior to the Indians of the present day, and perhaps equal to those of the time when the Mogul dynasty was in power. Ellis, by avoiding to describe what has been described already, renders his book a dry record of uninteresting events. An account of one's intercourse, even with our Continental neighbours, would be more minute and picturesque than he is. He, however, describes the towns and the scenery.

‘*Jan. 7.*—Finished Ellis. His book, though it shows less liveliness and less observation than I should have expected, shows more sober sense, and this appears more in his judgments on indifferent subjects than in his political conduct. His concluding observations are very good, and I think he places the Chinese right—above the modern Turks, Indians, and Persians, and far below the Europeans. They are, I now think, superior to the Indians in their best days. The general comfort, the number of books, the existence of a middle class, the publicity, and the moderation of the acts of government, added to the industry of the people, their skill in manufactures and agriculture,

certainly raise them higher in most points of view, physical and moral, than those with whom I am comparing them; while the difficulty of learning their language, and the dissimilarity of their way of thinking, perhaps account for what seems to us unsocial and uninteresting in their character, without supposing those effects to be really inherent in it.

‘*July 12.*—I have been reading Barrow’s “China.” He is unfavourable to the Chinese, but not uncandid; and, though he often fails in some of his speculations, shows good sound sense in his facts and observations.’

‘Bombay, March 10, 1822.

‘My dear Strachey,—This is to answer your letter from Richmond, Sept. 9. You and I, like sensible people, are approximating in our opinions about Indian administration. I got most of mine from you and Sir Henry. You must recollect the undiscovered Pergunnah where the Sudder wanted you to introduce the Regulations, and the terrific advance of the Adawlut, spreading more alarm than Lord Lake himself.⁴ That was enough to show the evil of a hasty introduction of our system. That our system was in itself defective I believed from the published opinions of Bengal civil servants. I observed that although the numbers were on the side of the favourers of the system, the talents were against them. H. Strachey’s answer to Lord Wellesley, and some of his letters in particular, made me despair of the success of any system of our invention. To all this I added a notion, derived from Davis, that we had in Bengal thrown away many excellent institutions of the natives, and had replaced them by inadequate or ill-adapted machinery of our own. With these previous ideas I saw the Mahrattas, totally different from our Bengalee and Hindustanee subjects, going on tolerably well under considerable disadvantages, and not at all disposed for any change; and I knew that

⁴ This refers to a traditional story which Mr. Elphinstone used to relate in illustration of the dread with which our courts of law were regarded early in the present century. During the progress of our conquests in the North-west many of the inhabitants were encountered flying from the newly occupied territory. ‘Is Lord Lake coming?’ was the inquiry. ‘No,’ was the reply, ‘the Adawlut is coming’—the Adawlut being the courts of law.

if I once destroyed any of their institutions I should never be able to restore them ; while, on the other hand, I could at any time introduce the Adawlut by passing a regulation. I therefore left the native system as entire as I could, and determined to see how it wrought in our hands, and where it required remedies. I go to the Deckan next rains to take a look at it, and shall probably bring it much nearer our own plan of administration. The Adawluts answer very well in Guzerat owing to their not having thrown things into confusion by our revenue regulations, and to the smallness of the zillas, and the number of native commissioners. You need not be afraid of our regulation committee being inspired by any dread of the Bengal regulations. If you look over my minute you will see that I do not at all take for granted the failure of the Bengal regulations. I say that great defects may often for a long time elude observation, and bring as an instance that Lord Cornwallis's system was commended in Lord Wellesley's time for some of its parts, which we now acknowledge to be the most defective. Surely you will not say that it has no defects. The one I chiefly alluded to was its leaving the ryots at the mercy of the zemindars. I am not democratic enough to insist on a ryot-war system. I think that the aristocracy of the country, whether it consists of heads of villages or heads of zemindarees, should be kept up ; but I also think their rights and the opposite rights of the ryots should be clearly defined, and the latter especially effectually defended. On both of these points Lord Cornwallis has certainly failed. In proof of which I need only bring forward Henry Strachey's answer to Lord Wellesley (I think it is), and Sir E. Colebrooke's serious declaration that it would be an improvement in the condition of the ryots to avow that they had no rights. I send you some specimens of the new Code. They are selected as being the most innovating. The bulk of the regulations for civil justice are quite on the Bengal plan. These specimens are only drafts proposed by the committee. They have yet to be discussed by all the judges and confirmed by the Government. Two excellent translators are sharpening their tools to commence, the moment one page

is passed. I have another project much at heart, to which every single person without exception that I have consulted has objected; yet it seems to me a moderate plan enough, and chiefly faulty from its insignificance. It is to find out if there is any book of Hindoo law (or any portion of such a book) which is universally and practically recognised in the territory under Bombay. If there is, print it, and ultimately declare it to be law. Next, to ascertain whether any more portions of the law are very generally recognised. Then print them, specifying the countries or castes to which they do *not* apply. Lastly, by slow degrees—either by circulating interrogatories or merely by selecting cases that are tried by the courts—ascertain the peculiar laws of every considerable division, geographical or genealogical, and record them in like manner. You would then have a code of laws—a very imperfect one, but one known to the judges and the people—capable of comparison and improvement by the Legislature. The most sweeping objection is that the Hindoos have no general law at all. What we call Hindoo law applies in fact to the Brahmins only; each caste has separate laws and customs of its own, and even they vary according to the part of the country in which the different portion of a caste is settled. There is a good deal of truth in the assertion, but it only shows how much a general code is wanted, and how long it will take to make one that will apply to all castes without destroying their own peculiar laws or customs. We should therefore *begin*, and I do not care how long we take to finish, so as we *progress*. Another objection is that we give durability to absurdities that would be forgotten if we let them alone; but we might avoid subjects particularly pregnant with absurdity (such as the rights of Brahmins, &c.); and as to the others, these being clearly seen, and their relation to other parts of the system clearly known, would facilitate their correction when the proper time came. The difficulty of the undertaking and the want of Sanscrit scholars are stronger objections; and if the thing were only begun upon while I am here, I should think myself well off. With regard to criminal law the case is widely different. We do not, as in Bengal, profess to adopt the

Mohammedan code. We profess to apply that code to Mohammedan persons, and the Hindoo code to Hindoos, who form by far the greatest part of the subjects. The Mohammedan law is almost as much a dead letter in practice with us as it is in Bengal, and the Hindoo generally gives the Raja on all occasions the choice of all possible punishments, from banishing the town, or fining a . . . ⁵ of cowries, to putting to death. The consequence is that the judge has to make a new law for each case. The remedy for that is easy. We can ascertain the punishment that has generally been inflicted on each crime, and where doubts arise we can use the same discretion in determining the punishment for whole classes that we constantly exercise in individual cases. Things will then go on pretty nearly as they have done, except that the judge in each case will know what punishment to inflict, and the party what to expect. This may be done by the regulation committee before it breaks up. It is, in fact, only making known the law as it actually stands. I am too tired to go on with some other things I had to say, but I dare say you are equally so. I look with anxiety for your judicial letters, but it is in the financial ones that I expect to find reprimands; not that I am more to blame there than elsewhere, but because it is a sore subject with the Court of Directors. If you ever hear what they think of Bombay proceedings, write to me. You will have seen Malcolm and his reports. He is a great loss. Talking of reports, have you read mine on the Deckan in the Bengal Government printed extracts? but the whole should be read to give a clear idea of the country. Love to Dick. *Vale.*

‘M. E.’

‘*March 23.*—I now enclose the Regulations, which had not come home when I last wrote. I seem, by your letter, to have led you into an opinion that Erskine was in effect the whole regulation committee, whereas Babington, the president, is at least as efficient a member. He is a very moderate, rational person, who, if he exceeds in any way, does so in Benthamising. He is assisting me in getting the civil engineer to draw out a

⁵ Illegible.

plan of a panopticon for a penitentiary on this island. I proposed this when I first arrived, but my hand, you may have observed, is not always very plain; and the secretary in drafting a letter from my minutes, where I spoke of the "panopticon so much recommended by Mr. Bentham," referred the chief engineer to Bentham's "Panoply," a publication of which the Governor in Council had no doubt some copies might be procurable in this country. The chief engineer not finding the "Panoply" so common a work as Mr. Secretary had supposed, the thing lay over till lately, when I was considering the subject of jails in general, of which six new ones happen at this moment to be required. I proposed, among other things, that they should be built in the form of a cheap sort of panopticon, but the Sudder Adawlut yesterday replied, announcing their decided preference for the plan of the Alipore jail; and we are now writing to Calcutta to learn whether the Alipore jail is still approved in that part of the world, where the cause of John Elliott *versus* Jeremy Bentham will be decided. As I have some room left I may as well fill it up by remarking on the wonderful improvement of the natives that begins to be discernible, in Bengal especially. There is a Bengalee newspaper, which discusses all subjects, and is interesting even to English readers, though of course often puerile and often mistaken.

'Ram Mohun Roy, wisely retaining the name and observances of a Hindoo, is writing books in favour of Deism, and many natives begin to discover curiosity and interest about the form of their government as well as its proceedings, together with a strong spirit of reform as applied to the science, religion, and morals of their nation. Amidst all this there is a great deal of cant, affectation, and imposture, Bengalees talking about liberty and philanthropy, and declaiming against the efforts of the Tories to crush the infant liberty of the press (verbatim as far as I can recollect from the letter addressed by a native in Calcutta to . . .⁶ in Bombay); but even to use this sort of language without understanding it is a wonderful advance, and from admiring the sound, people must come to relish the sense.

'M. E.'

⁶ A native name, illegible.

‘Bombay, March 21, 1822.

‘My dear Grant,—I got sooner through your first three chapters⁷ than I had hoped; I read them with great pleasure. You have acquired a much more calm, matured historical style than you had at first, and have absolutely none of the faults that I used to attribute to you. You will find my remarks chiefly censures, and chiefly in petty details; but, to be useful, they must be censures. It is of no use mentioning what does not require to be altered; and they must be details, because the author who has fully considered his subject can alone take consistent general views of it. I think, however, you should have introduced more of the manners of the Mahrattas, more to put the people and their leaders before the eyes of the reader, and to enable him to understand their motives and modes of action. This can only be done by a picture of the Mahrattas as they now stand, and it may be a question whether that does not come more naturally when you reach the present period; but, on the whole, I think that, as you are writing for Europe, you should make people acquainted with your actors before you begin your play. A great deal of this may, however, be done as you go on with less appearance of laboured dissertation, by introducing each description as it is required; and certainly if this can be managed it is the best way for variety and interest. For instance, when you bring Sivajee and Shayisteh Khan together, contrast in a few touches the luxurious magnificence and pride of the Mohammedan with the hardy, bold, and crafty character of the half-naked Mahratta. Or, when you make your first incursion, give a vivid picture of a predatory camp and its wild inmates. Bernier, I remember, struck me as a model of the art of mixing history and travels which is required in recording the transactions of a distant nation. I have omitted to answer your question whether to go on; in fact, it requires no answer. *Macte virtute*. As you advance your subject will extend and improve, your readers’ interest will be excited by their acquaintance with the actors and the scene, and your own facility and power of composition will daily increase. I must

⁷ *History of the Mahrattas*.

say a few words about another detail ; I think your description of the Ghauts, though more correct, is less striking than in the first draft, but this may only be that it strikes less in the second reading than the first.'

'Bombay, April 20, 1822.

'My dear Grant,—I send you my notes on Raja Ram. The materials are admirably got together, and most of the transactions of the time set in full light, but there is a want of arrangement and of filling up, which may easily be supplied at leisure. Your difficulty, and yet what none but you could accomplish, was to get at facts and to combine them with judgment so as to make a consistent and rational history out of a mass of gossiping *Bukkurs* and gasconading *Tawareekhs*.⁸ The rest of the task requires less preparation, though no less necessary it is to convey to the European reader a clear notion of the actors and the scene of their exploits. Camp presents to a European the idea of long lines of white tents in the trimmest order. To a Mahratta it presents an assemblage of every sort of covering, of every shape and colour, spreading for miles in all directions, over hill and dale, mixed up with tents, flags, trees, and buildings. In Jones's "History" march means one or more columns of troops and ordnance moving along roads, perhaps between two hedges ; in the Mahratta history, horse, foot, and dragoons inundating the face of the earth for many miles on every side, here and there a few horse with a flag and a drum, mixed with a loose and straggling mass of camels, elephants, bullocks, nautch-girls, fakeers, and buffoons ; troops and followers, lancemen and matchlockmen, bunyans and mootasuddies. You must also indulge a little in your own speculations. When Suntajee or Dhunnajee starts up at the head of 20,000 men, it occurs to me, perhaps erroneously, that they are the *débris* of the armies of Bijapoor and Golconda, the old followers of Sivajee and Sumbajee, the gangs of Daishmooks and Poligans who sprung up in the decline of the Deckan monarchies, and finally the citizens and peasants, who were driven by tyranny and

⁸ Chronicles.

spoliation to practise the crimes by which they had suffered; but unless you give some account of this they will seem to a stranger to have started up from the earth. When you only conjecture, you can put in "probably," "apparently," or some other phrase to mark doubt; and after all you must not do it too much, and must not explain what is obvious, and light up noonday. The art of an historian is to hit the medium; of the two classes, brevity and obscurity are the least evils.'⁹

'Bombay, April 24, 1822.

'My dear Grant,—

'As to the facts about Kirkee, the important thing is that Colonel Burr and I had talked the matter over most fully, and fixed most positively, that if ever war broke out he was to begin by attacking the Mahrattas; and from this I never knew, till we were actively engaged, that he ever swerved. When we were going to cross the river you proposed to me to desire Burr to advance. I forgot in what terms I sanctioned the request, but my impression was that it was perfectly settled Burr was to advance, and that the moment he knew war was begun he would do so. It turned out that I was quite mistaken, and that Burr would not have stirred without an order; and we are therefore indebted to you for what happened. One great reason for my anxiety to attack, and also for my great desire that Burr should advance without waiting for Ford, could not be dwelt on in the despatches of that time; but you will recollect our uncertainty about the Sepoys, and in consequence, the importance of leaving no time for deliberation. As the battle of Kirkee was fought, I believe we might have won it if half our Sepoys had been disaffected; but had we halted on the hill—with an appearance of inferiority to the Peshwa, worried with a cannonade on our camp, and insulted and

⁹ I have quoted only from three out of several letters addressed to Captain Grant while engaged on his History. One of the most interesting is a long list of public documents relating to Mahratta history, to be found in the records of Poona, Hyderabad, Calcutta, &c., besides other materials, native and European. The letter is dated April 27, 1822.

alarmed by skirmishes of cavalry and false attacks at night—I really think many of the well affected would have wavered, and would have begun to calculate the profit of desertion on one hand, and the danger of standing by a sinking cause on the other. Recollect how the Gorepura was disheartened and alarmed by our inaction, even after our victory, and how the Silladars began to move off to Goela's flag of Cowle. It may be thought that the enemy would have attacked us whether we advanced or not; but we have no right to suppose he would have done what was so contrary to his obvious interest; and if he had, a repulse from our camp would only have sent him back to his own, while an equal loss on his part on our advance was enough to chase him off the field. Speaking of Blacker, you will observe that, although he must have seen the most positive orders to Sir T. Hislop to make over two divisions to me, and not to meddle with them afterwards, and likewise my instructions investing me with full power, civil and military, he still considers the whole of the operations in the Peshwa's country as conducted under him, and ends his enumeration of the feats performed under Sir T.'s personal command, with the expulsion of the Peshwa, and the most important revolution in the Mahratta State that had occurred since it was founded. (I must go to breakfast, which is lucky for you, or you might have seen by example the evils of controversial history).'

‘Malabar Point, May 5, 1822.

‘My dear Close,—To know the full merit of my sitting down to write to you by candlelight, you should be informed that I have had bad eyes for some time, and am obliged to read with blue spectacles. I have, however, received your letter from Malown, and am too much delighted with it to put off answering it. What pleases me most is the contrast between your present enjoyment and your former sickness and despondency. Depend upon it, England will turn out as well as Hemaleh. Next to that is the pleasure of reading your description of the mountains, and recalling the feelings which such scenes inspire. Though I never saw them in near such

perfection as you have, Hemaleh and its western neighbour afforded me a display of grandeur that nothing else I have ever seen makes the smallest approach to. The woods, the verdure, the clear streams, the deep valleys, the tremendous precipices, with the novelty and the romantic associations, are enough to make even the lower ranges superior to everything that is seen elsewhere; but they and everything disappear before the snowy ridge, and the feelings it creates of wonder, awe, and elevation. It makes me melancholy to think that I shall never see those mountains again, and I am not fully consoled even by the prospect of the Alps. For the present I am quite put out of conceit of everything here, yet I am now enjoying clear moonlight, woody hills, and glassy waters,—

Near the deep sea, and music in its roar.

If I were not writing to you I should be reading Cicero "*De Claris Oratoribus*." It is not the most brilliant of his works, but still I read it with great pleasure, and discover in myself evident signs of that proficiency which he has attained to, *cui Cicero valde placebit*. Grant will have written to you about materials for his Mahratta history. By-the-bye, I am not so sure of that, for I believe you hardly know him; but it will be an excellent history—Sivajee, Sumbajee, and Ram Raja now stand in full light, as simple and intelligible as Hyder and Tippoo. Grant does not ask for information about Sindia, Holkar, &c. &c., but he must want it; and you might get Bukkers' Persian Memoirs, &c., that would greatly assist him. Copies of Sindia's principal treaties would be good things.'

In the middle of August 1822 Mr. Elphinstone started on a tour through his old haunts in the Deckan, and after a stay of three months at Poona, he proceeded through Sholapoor to Bijapoor, and thence through the southern Mahratta country to the Koombarla Ghaut, whence he descended to the Concan, returning to Bombay *via* Severndroog after an absence of five months. The tour was nominally one of inspection, but quite as much one of pleasure, for neither his letters nor his journal

allude to any special business that awaited him. He watched the progress of the settlement of the newly acquired province, visited the young Raja of Sattara, and many of the Jageerdars, through whose territory he passed. These matters are only alluded to casually. The journal is throughout a record of sport, of enjoyment of the scenery, and of the climate and air of the Deekan. It reads like the journal of a schoolboy on his holidays.

‘The 18th we marched for Poona, and after some very bad road, where we had to lead our horses, one long and heavy shower, and many slighter ones, a breakfast in a choultry, and a ride of six hours with lame and shoeless horses, we got near Poona, rode by the bridge with some cavalry and many natives, ourselves most discreditable figures, into the Commissioner’s camp. The country did not seem to me changed, except for the decay of . . . ¹ the town the same, but no horses and few gentry; my old public bungalow exactly the same, to a chair or a couch cover. The climate is incomparably pleasanter than that of Bombay. There is a lightness and a buoyancy in the air that is quite delightful. I feel as if I had left here yesterday; but business will soon begin, and the place will lose much of its charm.’

On November 11 he left Poona with a large party for Bijapoor, where he passed some days. The notes of his walks among these old memorials of Mohammedan grandeur are a repetition of what has been already given in the preceding chapter. From Bijapoor he passed through the southern Mahratta country, and visited the celebrated falls of Gokauk, formed by the Gutpunga River, which is contracted as it enters a narrow defile to the width of only 80 yards, and is precipitated into a gorge 178 feet below. The mass of water is estimated at 16,000 cubic feet. Here, and again as they pass through the Western Ghauts to the Concan, the scenery is described with his usual enthusiasm. When he reached the mountains he was in the midst of scenery famous in Mahratta history. He passed within sight of some of Sivajee’s strong-

¹ Illegible.

holds, Junghee Jaigurh, Raigurh, the seat of his government, and Torna, where he stored his plunder. There is only occasional reference to his reading. On October 13 he wrote:—

‘I have been reading Clarendon for the last fortnight or so. It is impossible to do so without being for the time on the King’s side. I am struck with the good style and good sense of the declarations on both sides. The openness and absence of form, and the liberal principles of Government, acknowledged by both sides.’

He returns to the same subject a month later.

‘*Camp, Kirwan, Jan. 8, 1823.*—I have finished Clarendon’s History, and am going to begin his Life. In his History he appears as a man of great talents, firm principles, and inflexible integrity. On the other hand, his views are often narrow, and his prejudices always strong. His political opinions are more tolerant than his religion. He can allow some defects in the monarchy, but none whatever in the Church. He can show some candour to a Roundhead, only pure hatred to a Presbyterian. He is, however, so honest in avowing his partialities, that a cautious reader is seldom misled by them. I wish he were as scrupulous to tell the whole truth as to tell nothing more; but I am afraid he often omits entirely important facts that tell against his cause, such as the King’s private protest against the terms into which he was entering with apparent good faith at Uxbridge, or the Isle of Wight. His style is generally clear and manly, though he is a little prolix and circumstantial, without any of the picturesque effect that often is the result of minute details. His characters are excellent, and far surpass all the rest of his work. They are generally lively and finished portraits, with all the consistency of truth and nature.’

(*To Sir Thomas Munro.*)

‘Poona, October 27, 1822.

‘My dear Sir Thomas,—I hear you have instituted something like a Native Board of Revenue at Madras, and I should be much obliged if you would inform me of the nature of the

plan. It seems to be one great advantage of the arrangement that it opens a door to the employment of natives in high and efficient situations. I should be happy to know if you think the plan can be extended to the judicial or any other line. Besides the necessity for having good native advisers in governing natives, it is necessary that we should pave the way for the introduction of the natives to some share in the government of their own country. It may be half a century before we are obliged to do so; but the system of government and of education which we have already established must some time or other work such a change on the people of this country, that it will be impossible to confine them to subordinate employments; and if we have not previously opened vents for their ambition and ability we may expect an explosion which will overturn our government. I should be much obliged also if you would tell me whether you think some rules might not be passed (though not promulgated) for pensioning or endowing with lands native public servants of extraordinary merit, as well of pensioning all who accomplished a certain period of service. I have had none of your minutes for a long time, and as I do not know your present private secretary I do not know how to apply for a proper selection; but I set a high value on those I have received, and should be very thankful if the supply could be continued. Chaplin's report will have shown you the state of this part of the country. It goes on well; but the punchayets require some brushing up, and some aid from district moonsiffs, of whom we have none as yet.

‘Believe me, &c.,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

‘Camp on the Seena, December 5, 1822.

‘My dear Strachey,—

‘I do not recollect ever enjoying hog-hunting so much as I have done on this trip, although somewhat in the way of business. I must tell you what a good fellow the little Raja of Sattara is. When I visited him we sat on two musnuds with-

out exchanging one single word, in a very respectable durbar ; but the moment we retired to a *khilwat*² the Raja produced his Civil and Criminal Register, and his Minute of demands, collections, and balances for the last quarter, and began explaining the state of his country as eagerly as a young collector. He always sits in the Nyna-daish, and conducts his business with the utmost regularity. I hunted with him the day we parted, and a young gentleman, Mr. Morris, Second Assistant at Sattara, had a bad fall just in front of me, and lay for dead. When I got off I found a horseman dismounted, and supporting his head ; and, to my surprise, it was the Raja, who had let his horse go and run to his assistance. The Raja's turning out well is principally owing to Captain Grant, the Resident, formerly adjutant of the Grenadier battalion, and now historian of the Mahratta Empire, for which he has collected inimitable materials. I am wandering over the country with fifteen or sixteen gentlemen and three ladies. I go on to Bijapoor, which I am to visit again, and meet a batch of Putwurduns and other Jageerdars ; another batch, including the Raja of Colapoor, I meet at Merich ; and then I am to descend into the Southern Concan, which I have never seen. There I shall have a good deal to inquire about ; but as I already know the Deckan so well, and have nearly settled with the Commissioner, Mr. Chaplin (who is of our party), all that is to be done about it, I have had little to do in the three weeks that have passed since I left Poona. While there I saw all the old places ; and as the traces of modern times were quite destroyed at the Sungum, it strongly recalled those of Forlorn, and our former amusements and studies at the Sungum, in the days when we could hope that some good was to result from our studies. I still, now and then, read an ode from Hafiz in memory of those days (which it seldom fails to awaken), though I have long dropped all other intercourse with Persian. Nothing strikes me more than the improvement of young men since our day. You and I used to be as good as our neighbours in those days, yet I never see a young man of moderate abilities, lately come

² A cabinet.

out, who does not know at least as much as I do even now. Besides the improvements in education, a vast deal of time is saved by the extinction of debauchery, and the diminished importance of horses and dogs.

‘I have a great deal more to say, *sed jam in immensum, &c.*’

‘*Camp, Kurroor, December 24, 1822.*—In the evening I went to the Falls.³ There was much more water than when I last saw them, but from the number of gentlemen and crowds of natives, I enjoyed it much less. After dinner, about half-past ten, I went again. It was calm moonlight, and I recollected that it was the night on which—

“No spirit dares stir abroad, . . .
No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm,
So hallowed and so gracious is the time.”

When I reached the top of the fall the softened beauty of the rocks and woods, the stillness of the basin, and the deep solitude, only broken by the voice of the waters, inspired me with feelings of elevation and delight. The cascade itself appeared in all imaginable grandeur. The upper parts were indistinctly seen, and the bottom scarce at all. All other objects lay in complete repose, and the cascade alone, full of sound and motion, entirely occupied the mind. One felt as if in the presence of a superior being, and was filled with a reverential and almost superstitious awe.’

‘*Camp, Coomarlee, Jan. 14, 1823.*—We are now in the heat and suffocation of the Concan, panting and perspiring at half-past eleven, though the thermometer is only 83°, and there is some wind. I have, however, a headache, which may account for my feeling uncomfortable. I have again left the Deckan, and again with great regret. I have had an excellent climate, pleasant society, abundance of exercise and amusement, much leisure, and high relish for poetry and scenery. I go to dull formal parties among strangers, constant routine of uninte-

³ Of Gokauk.

resting business, wearisome confined roads, failing eyesight, feeble frame, and flagging spirits, yet I should be thankful for what I have enjoyed, and for the capacity to receive enjoyment again; and I should remember that through life I have had much more pleasure of all kinds than I deserved, and scarcely any evil that I did not bring on myself.

‘*Bombay, February 1, 1823.*— . . . At night I went out, cloudy, hazy weather, and full moon. The light was very peculiar, the glassy appearance of the sea and the dim prospect of the islands. I thought of passing the lake to the palace of the King of the Genie, steered by a boatman with an elephant’s head.

‘I landed, went to the Government House, called on General Smith, had a council, went to the Literary Society, and to Parell. At night I was awaked, by a battle among cats, to hear the barking of a hundred dogs in pursuing these cats. I found several secretary’s black boxes placed ready for to-morrow, and my disgust to Bombay was at its height. . . .

‘*Aug. 18.*—I this morning after my ride took up Hafiz, and read several odes. It is not always that one can enter fully into the spirit of them. There is not, as in our poets, a regular disposition and continuation of thoughts, that lead the reader by sure degrees to the feeling which the author wishes to produce. There are only casual touches which may often entirely fail, but when they are successful they vibrate to the heart. The one is like a piece of music that cannot but give pleasure, even to a hearer incapable of a high relish of the art. The other is like an *Æolian* harp, which at one time may be heard without exciting a sensation, and at others may awaken every faculty of memory and imagination. One of the most remarkable peculiarities of Hafiz is the strain of enthusiastic independence that elevates him above everything which could weigh down or restrain his genius, and leaves him free to give way to every impulse of love or pleasure, of gaiety or of sadness, of glowing sympathy with nature, or of almost inspired devotion for its Author. When one has entered at all into the spirit of Hafiz, it is impossible not to share for the moment in

his contempt for the world and its pursuits, and to feel a wish to cast off its shackles like him, and to abandon yourself to the stream of destiny, which bears you through joys and sorrows to that ocean in which all former genius and grandeur have been overwhelmed. It is indeed remarkable that though Hafiz contains many passages of the highest sublimity, and many that overflow with life and joy, yet the general cast of almost every ode is pensive and dejected; the commonest topics are the transitoriness of pleasure, the faithlessness of fortune; and the prevailing sentiments are melancholy sympathy for man, and resignation to the Being who chasteneth those whom He loves.'

'Coondalla, Sept. 18, 1823.

'My dear Close,—Your letter met me last night as I landed at Panwell, and I have this morning ridden on to my bungalow here. I am now in my room, within three steps of the cliff. My window is immediately over it. It has been raining, and thin clouds are still sailing up the chasm. The greater part, however, is quite clear, and sparkling with the late rain. Nak Punner is in sight over a cloud which covers the whole of the top of the Coondalla Hill. The cascade, though not full, is in great beauty, and the sound of it is the only one heard. Our party consists of Stanners, Seton (whom you do not know), and myself. I am to be here till the 1st. I agree with you that nothing was ever written so fine as the sixth book. Homer's corresponding one is inferior, though inferior to it alone. The greatest charm of the descent to hell is owing to the grandeur of the opening, which prepares you to enter into the spirit of all the rest. The nocturnal sacrifice, the bellowing of the ground at dawn of day in token of its acceptance, the howling of the dogs, the trembling of the woods, then the long, mysterious journey—

“Sola sub nocte per umbram
Perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna.”

'It is remarkable that Virgil, though he inspires so much awe, avoids horrors. He does not dwell on flames and tor-

mented spirits, but leaves you to fancy the horrors of Tartarus, after exciting your imagination by a slight mention of the tremendous sounds that were heard in passing by its gates. You seem to me to do more than justice to Cowley. I have not looked into him these twenty years, but I then read the whole of him, "Plants," "Davideis," and all, having only one volume of British poets for my companion in a long tour through the Mysore. He must have been a man of genius to command the respect of his contemporaries in so high a degree; but his talents are so wholly misapplied that no man now can bear his rants or his conceits. It is astonishing he should have shown so absurd a taste, considering that he wrote after Waller, and at the same time with Milton. I cannot allow him to be put in comparison with Dryden. A great deal of Dryden is abominable, but his fables, "Absalom and Achitophel," his "MacFlecknoe," a good deal of "The Hind and Panther," not to mention the "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," are equal to anything of the sort in English. If I were to class the English poets according to their merit, I should say—Class first, Shakespeare, Milton; class second, Spenser, Dryden (or Dryden, Spenser), Pope, &c. I should be a little puzzled where to put Byron, but somewhere either before or between or immediately after Spenser and Dryden. After Pope (before him but for quantity) would come Gray. Class third, Thomson, Goldsmith, Walter Scott, Anacreon Moore (for his songs alone). Chaucer must be kept out of the list for his antiquity, and Butler and Swift for their oddity; but all, especially the first two, rank in their way with the highest of the second class. Cowley, and all that sacrifice their talents to affectation, should be *capite censi*, and rank below every class. Southey and the Lakers would narrowly escape this fate, but should form a class apart, not numbered, and with its rank not settled. Yours ever, 'M. E.'

'Oct. 13.—I am quite oppressed with the climate (thermometer 90°), at least my mind is so slow and sluggish that I can scarcely do anything. I spent great part of the forenoon writing a minute on the education of the natives. Though

most anxious about the subject, I could make but little progress. At length, however, I got on, and finished the outline of a long minute, with some extensive plans. I must take care to support them against the opposition and neglect of the executive officers, who in general are too much taken up with details to have time to consider new plans, which they reject as unnecessary, and detest as giving trouble, so that many good resolutions remain unexecuted, and enterprises of great pith and moment—

“With these regards their currents turned away,
And lose the name of action.”

The education minute referred to in this passage in the journal forms one of a series of minutes written in furtherance of the same great object, which call for some special notice on the part of his biographer. They were the work of a pioneer in the cause, who had to contend with and remove prejudices that are no longer felt; and some of the appeals to first principles in the documents from which I am about to quote would be considered superfluous in the present day. The Government of Bengal had during Lord Minto's administration encouraged the learning and literature of India by the foundation of colleges for Hindoo and Mohammedan students, a step that was taken not more in the interest of scholarship than of the administration of justice, as these colleges were the training schools of the pundits and moolvies of the courts. The promotion of English literature was not taken up in Calcutta till some years later, but even then the instruction offered was for the few, and the great body of the people was left out of consideration.

Mr. Elphinstone, while Commissioner of the Deckan, had expressed some doubts of the propriety of the Government doing more for the promotion of education than by giving encouragement to the publication of useful books. He wrote, ‘I do not perceive anything that we can do to improve the morals of the people, except by improving their education;’ but he added, ‘I am not sure that our establishment of free schools would alter this state of things, and it might create

a suspicion of some concealed designs on our part.' These lines were penned shortly after the fall of the Peshwa's government, and apparently in answer to some appeal to him by a zealous promoter of education, and are only worth quoting as illustrative of the caution with which he moved while the country was passing through a revolution. When he became Governor of Bombay larger views pressed on his mind, and these were developed in the minutes from which I am about to quote.⁴

A society for the promotion of education existed at Bombay previously to Mr. Elphinstone's accession to the government; but attention to that of the natives formed only a branch and an inferior branch of its objects. The first establishment of a society which should have the education of the natives only in view, dates from a meeting held in August 1820, over which Mr. Elphinstone presided. It is interesting to observe that the primary aim of this infant institution was instruction in the vernacular language. Their resolutions provided for the supply of suitable books of instruction both in English and the native languages, support to existing native schools, and the establishment of new ones; and it was resolved, lastly, 'that the schools be primarily for the conveyance of knowledge in the language of the country.' Though many influential natives joined with the leading public servants of the Presidency and with the archdeacon and clergy of Bombay in this attempt, the society languished for want of active support until it received a new impulse from the exertions of Mr. Elphinstone, who procured the assent of the Government to a grant of money for the printing department, leaving the society's funds disposable for the instruction of native teachers.

Encouraged by the disposition shown by the Governor, the society thought the time had arrived to make an especial appeal for increased aid, and laid their views fully before the Government in September 1823. To this, indeed, they were

⁴ The preceding words are quoted by Dr. Wilson, Vice-Chancellor of the newly founded University of Bombay, in an address delivered by him on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the building, but it does not give the name of the person to whom they were addressed.

invited by the Governor himself, whose views were publicly recorded in the minute from which I subjoin some extracts, but his power to give effect to them was limited by the small amount of funds at the disposal of the local government at this period, and the society continued its humble efforts until Mr. Elphinstone retired from the government in 1827, when the natives of that Presidency, who had watched with admiration the unceasing efforts of their benefactor in this as in other objects of improvement, joined in that touching tribute to his public and private character out of which the Elphinstone College took its rise.

The minute deals with the subject in much detail, and I only give those passages which illustrate his general views.

‘I have attended, as far as was in my power since I have been in Bombay, to the means of promoting education among the natives, and from all that I have observed, and learned by correspondence, I am perfectly convinced that, without great assistance from Government, no progress can be made in that important undertaking. A great deal appears to have been performed by the Education Society in Bengal, and it may be expected that the same effects should be produced by the same means at this Presidency; but the number of Europeans here is so small, and our connection with the natives so recent, that much greater exertions are requisite on this side of India than on the other.

‘The circumstance of our having lately succeeded to a Brahmin government likewise, by making it dangerous to encourage the labours of the missionaries, deprives the cause of education of the services of a body of men who have more zeal and more time to devote to the object than any other class of Europeans can be expected to possess.

‘If it be admitted that the assistance of Government is necessary, the next question is how it can best be effected; and there are two ways which present themselves for consideration. The Government may take the education of the natives entirely on themselves, or it may increase the means and stimulate the exertions of the society already formed for that purpose,

The best result will probably be produced by a combination of these two modes of proceeding. Many of the measures necessary for the diffusion of education must depend on the spontaneous zeal of individuals, and could not be effected by any resolutions of the Government. The promotion of those measures, therefore, should be committed to the society; but there are others which require an organised system, and a greater degree of regularity and permanence than can be expected from any plan, the success of which is to depend upon personal character. This last branch, therefore, must be undertaken by the Government.

‘The following are the principal measures required for the diffusion of knowledge among the natives. First, to improve the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to increase their number. Second, to supply them with school books. Third, to hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them. Fourth, to establish schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education. Fifth, to provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native languages. Sixth, to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the European discoveries. Seventh, to hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge. . . .

‘The means by which the direct exertions of Government can be best applied to promote schools is by endeavouring to increase their number; and on this I am of opinion that no pains should be spared. The country is at present exactly in the state in which an attempt of the sort is likely to be most effectual. The great body of the people are quite illiterate, yet there is a certain class, in which men capable of reading, writing, and instructing exist in much greater numbers than are required, or can find employment. This is a state of things which cannot long continue. The present abundance of people

of education is owing to the demand there was for such persons under the Mahratta government. That cause has now ceased, the effect will soon follow ; and unless some exertion is made by the Government, the country will certainly be in a worse state under our rule than it was under the Peshwa's. I do not confine this observation to what is called learning, which in its present form must unavoidably fall off under us, but to the humble acts of reading and writing, which, if left to themselves, will decline among the Brahmins, without increasing among the other castes.'

He discusses these different plans at considerable detail. On the seventh he remarks:—

'It is difficult to provide the means of instruction in the higher branches of science. It is still more so to hold out a sufficient incitement to the acquisition of them. The natives, being shut out from all the higher employments in their own country, neither feel the want of knowledge in their ordinary transactions, nor see the prospect of advancement from any perfection of it to which they can attain. Nor can this obstacle be removed until, by the very improvements which we are now planning, they shall be rendered at once more capable of undertaking public duties, and more trustworthy in the execution of them. In the meantime their progress must be in a certain degree forced and unnatural, and for this reason must require more assistance on the part of the Government than would be necessary in a better state of society.'

The only means that occur to him as available to meet this difficulty are prizes and some standard examinations for such public employments as are open to them ; but the latter, from the nature of the case, could only be of limited application. He proceeds:—

'I can conceive no objection that can be urged to these proposals except the greatness of the expense, to which I would oppose the magnitude of the object. It is difficult to imagine an undertaking in which our duty, our interest, and our honour are more immediately concerned. It is now well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor

depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring; and if there was a country where such habits were required, it is this. We have all heard of the ills of early marriages and overflowing population; of the savings of a life squandered on some occasion of festivity; of the helplessness of the ryots, which rendered them a prey to money-lenders; of their indifference to good clothes and houses—which has been urged on some occasions as an argument against lowering the public demands on them; and finally, of the vanity of all laws to protect them when no individual can be found who has spirit enough to take advantage of those enacted in their favour. There is but one remedy for all this, which is education. If there be a wish to contribute to the abolition of the horrors of self-immolation and of infanticide, and ultimately of the destruction of superstition, it is scarcely necessary now to prove that the only means of success is the diffusion of knowledge. In the meantime, the dangers to which we are exposed from the sensitive character of the religion of the natives, and the slippery foundation of our government, owing to the total separation between us and our subjects, require the adoption of some measures to counteract them; and the only one is to remove their prejudices, and to communicate our own principles and opinions by the diffusion of a rational education.

‘It has been urged against our Indian Government that we have subverted the states of the East, and shut up all the sources from which the magnificence of the country was derived, and that we have not ourselves constructed a single work, even, of utility or splendour. It may be alleged with more justice that we have dried up the fountain of native talent, and that, from the nature of our conquest, not only all encouragement to the advancement of knowledge is withdrawn, but even the actual learning of the nation is likely to be lost, and the productions of former genius to be forgotten. Something should surely be done to remove this reproach.

‘It is probably some considerations like these that have

induced the Legislature to render it imperative on the Indian Government to spend a portion of its revenue in the promotion of education; but whatever were the motives that led to it, the enactment itself forms a fresh argument for our attention to the subject. It may be urged that this expense, however well applied, ought not to fall on the Government; that those who are to benefit by education ought to pay for it themselves; and that an attempt to introduce it on any other terms will fail from the indifference of the teachers, and from the want of preparation among those for whose benefit it is intended. This would be true of the higher branches of education among a people with whom sound learning was already in request; but in India our first and greatest difficulty is to create that demand for knowledge, on the supposed existence of which the objection I have mentioned is founded.

‘With regard to the education of the poor, that must in all stages of society be in a great measure the charge of the Government. Even Adam Smith (the political writer of all others who has put the strictest limits to the interference of the executive Government, especially in education) admits the instruction of the poor to be among the necessary expenses of the sovereign, though he scarcely allows any other expense, except for the defence of the nation and the administration of justice.

‘I trust, therefore, that the expense will be cheerfully incurred, even if it be considerable and permanent. But that of the schools is to be borne by the villages; the prizes and professors by funds already alienated; the press, as the demand for books increases, may be left to pay itself; and when the plans I have proposed shall once have been fully organised, I hope that the whole of the arrangement, so beneficial to the public, will be accomplished without any material expense to the Company.’

He adds some remarks on the probable expense to which the Government would be put in carrying out the principal suggestions, and then finally winds up:—

‘It is observed that the missionaries find the lowest castes

the best pupils; but we must be careful how we offer any special encouragement to men of that description: they are not only the most despised, but among the least numerous of the great divisions of society. It is to be feared that if our system of education first took root among them it would never spread farther, and in that case we might find ourselves at the head of a new class, superior to the rest in useful knowledge, but hated and despised by the castes to whom these new attainments would always induce us to prefer them. Such a state of things would be desirable if we were contented to rest our favour on our army, or on the attachment of a part of the population, but inconsistent with every attempt to found it on a more extended basis.

‘To the mixture of religion, even in the slightest degree, with our plans of education I must strongly object. I cannot agree to clog with any additional difficulty a plan which has already so many obstructions to surmount. I am convinced that the conversion of the natives must infallibly result from the diffusion of knowledge among them. Evidently they are not aware of the connection, or all attacks on their ignorance would be as vigorously resisted as if they were on their religion. The only effect of introducing Christianity into our schools would be to sound the alarm, and to warn the Brahmins of the approaching danger. Even that warning might perhaps be neglected as long as no converts were made; but it is a sufficient argument against a plan that it can only be safe as long as it is ineffectual; and in this instance the danger involves not only failure of our plans of education, but the dissolution of our empire.’

I have before me several minutes treating on the topics discussed in the preceding paper. Though something was done, the cause languished for want of funds, and on one point met with opposition on the part of the home Government. The college for the promotion of native learning established at Poona was regarded with disfavour, and Mr. Elphinstone had to defend it on the plea that it formed a part of the policy already sanctioned, of continuing the charitable

grants of money formerly paid by the Peshwas, or by persons devoted to the learning and religion of the Hindoos and he only proposed to apply a portion of the same funds on principles consonant with what had already been done in Bengal. He deprecated strongly the sudden withdrawal of all encouragement to native learning, mixed though it was with the superstitions of past ages, yet containing much that was of value and esteemed by the people.

In the preceding minute the question was treated rather from a social than political point of view, but the latter was ever present to his mind. I suppose that few have passed many years in India without some misgivings as to the future of that great empire, should a shock be given to our military power. The tendency of our Government has been, in the provinces under direct British rule, to reduce all classes to a dead level, from which those only can rise who embark in commerce, or seek employment under the Government in the very limited spheres which for many years were open to them. Since the close of the war in 1819 great advances have been made in education, and in opening an honourable employment to the natives in positions of trust; but when Mr. Elphinstone wrote these minutes the future was dark and uncertain, and he tried on every occasion to press his views on his colleagues and on the Government at home.

Early in 1824 a new opportunity presented itself. Captain Sutherland, an officer employed in the Nizam's territory, laid before the Government a plan for the establishment of an institution for the education of native revenue officers, and for the formation of a Native Civil Service. Mr. Elphinstone seized on the occasion to revert to some of his former proposals, and enforce them on enlarged views of policy and justice. After some general remarks on the importance of some special training he proceeds as follows:—

‘It would be a narrow view of the plan proposed to regard it as terminating in the supply of a better description of revenue officers. Its effects are far more extensive, and the benefits to which it may lead are of a much higher order. Among the most prominent are the facility which it would give

to the safe admission of the natives into a larger share than they now possess of the administration of the Government, and the means which it would put into our hands of influencing the conduct of the whole population, and of diffusing throughout it the knowledge and sentiments which we are most desirous to impart.

‘The first of these considerations is one of equal importance and urgency. I have often endeavoured to show in my minutes on education that, unless some exertion is made by the Government, the natives must soon become less fit than they are at present for all employments that require any sort of superior attainment; but, even if they can be kept at the pitch at which we found them, they must in time be supplemented by a race possessed of superior advantages, and rapidly increasing in numbers. Even where the employment of natives in offices of trust is studiously encouraged and enjoined, it has been found impossible to make full use of them from their bad habits and ignorance of our modes of proceeding. In proof of this I need only refer to the early correspondence with the collectors in the Deckan. On the other hand, the demand for Europeans in all offices requiring either knowledge or accuracy is continually forcing itself on our attention. The superior education of the country-born young men is leading, in the other presidencies, to the very general employment of them in all situations to which they can be admitted; and we may judge, by the request in which the Madras boys are in this presidency, whether the demand for them is likely to become stationary, when the facility of procuring them is increased with their numbers. If colonisation or any other free ingress of Europeans to India were allowed, without some previous plan of improving the natives, the revolution of which I am describing the progress would be complete, and the natives would by degrees be removed from every station of power or profit, even of the most subordinate rank. So complete a proscription of their nation would raise a dangerous spirit of disaffection among our native subjects, civil and military; but if it were completed without producing a destructive explosion, the result would be such as

is perhaps still more to be deprecated; for the whole of the people of India would sink to a debased and servile condition, far below that of the Greeks in Turkey, and nearly resembling that of the Indians in Spanish America. Frightful as is the prospect, it is that to which our present system is indisputably leading, notwithstanding the anxious wish of all the authorities, both in India and England, to uphold the original population. It cannot be denied that all incitement to exertion among the upper class of natives is nearly extinct, and that as they become less able for the contest, their rivals increase both in numbers and activity. Nor can there be a doubt of the result, if the causes which have produced this state of things are left to their uninterrupted operation.

‘If care were taken to qualify the natives for the public service, and afterwards to encourage their employment, the picture would soon be reversed. At no very distant day we might see natives engaged in superintending a portion of a district, as the European assistants are now. In a more advanced stage, they might sometimes be registrars and sub-collectors, or even collectors and judges; and it may not be too visionary to suppose a period at which they might bear to the English nearly the relation which the Chinese do to the Tartars, the Europeans retaining the government and the military power, while the natives filled a large portion of the civil stations, and many of the subordinate employments in the army.

‘It may be urged that if we raise the natives to an equality with ourselves by education, and at the same time admit them to a share in their own government, it is not likely they will be content with the position assigned to them, or will ever rest until they have made good their title to the whole. It cannot be denied that there is much ground for the apprehension, but I do not see that we are at all more secure on any other plan. If we endeavour to depress the natives, our government may be overthrown by their resistance, and such a catastrophe would be more disastrous and more disgraceful than that just supposed. Even if we succeeded in the attempt, our empire, being unconnected with the people, would be liable to be subverted either

by foreign conquest or by the revolt of our descendants, and it is better for our honour and interest, as well as for the welfare of mankind, that we should resign our power into the hands of the people for whose benefit it is entrusted, than that it should be wrested from us by a rival nation, or claimed as a birthright by a handful of creoles.

‘These speculations may seem to be pushed too far, and they are certainly not proportioned to the limited question which has given rise to them ; but it is necessary to fix on some system toward which our measures should be directed, since it is impossible to make a good choice of the means until we have come to a determination as to the end to be attained.

‘If it is not thought desirable that the natives should at some future period be admitted to a share in the administration of the government, it would be highly impolitic and inconsistent to take even these partial measures for their improvement, or to retard their progress to a state of depression in which alone they can be expected to reconcile themselves to the station for which they are destined.

‘The other advantage I mentioned was the means of diffusing our sentiments and knowledge among the natives.

‘In all our discussions regarding education the progress of every plan has been arrested by the want of persons who could superintend the details. This was justly ascribed to the indifference of the natives, and to the small numbers and great occupation of the Europeans who are qualified for undertaking the task ; but when we have a numerous class of men throughout the country who unite our knowledge and sense of the importance of education to the intercourse with the people which natives alone possess, we may hope to see an improvement commence, which would increase the more rapidly, as it would constantly produce additional instruments for the execution of the design.

‘Nor is this the only assistance which a plan like the present holds forth to the cause of education, for, by connecting promotion in civil employments with improvement in the acquisition of knowledge, it removes, as far as is at present in

our power, the discouragement which struck us so much when considering the subject of education, arising from the fact that no proficiency in study led to worldly advancement.

‘To make the institution subservient to all the objects contemplated, it must go somewhat beyond Captain Sutherland’s proposal, and must teach not only all that is necessary to make the pupils good surveyors, but all that can enlarge their minds and fix their principles, provided that it does not render them so different from the other natives as to be odious to their countrymen. On the other hand, there are some studies adverted to by Captain Sutherland which might be more conveniently left to future observation—I mean the knowledge of soil and all circumstances that affect its productive powers. The theory might be taught to a certain extent, but it is to practice that we must trust for the advancement of the most useful part of this branch of knowledge.

‘The establishment ought further to embrace some provision for the education of judicial servants, a point on the extreme necessity of which we have been so often urged by the *Sudder Adawlut*.

‘Should the whole of these views be approved, they might lead to the formation of an establishment sufficiently extensive, combined with the Hindoo College and the institution for the higher branches of science recommended under the seventh head of my minute of December 13, 1823, to admit of the appointment of a European superintendent, without which it could scarcely be expected that so great an undertaking would prosper. But as we cannot venture on a measure of this nature without the previous sanction of the Court of Directors, I will not at present enter into any of the details of the plan, but content myself with proposing that it should be recommended to the Court.

‘It may seem an objection that it resembles the plan for a native college at the Presidency which was submitted by us in 1820, and which did not meet with the approbation of the Honourable Court; but the failure of that measure may be ascribed to its connection with the college for civil servants,

and I think the Honourable Court would come to a different decision if the plan for a native institution were submitted to them alone, especially when it is designed for purposes of such immediate practical utility.'

Before I pass from the subject of education, I may add that it received its first great impulse from the natives of the Presidency on Mr. Elphinstone's retirement, as will be mentioned further on; and this, again, led to its being taken up by the Home Government while Lord Ellenborough was at the head of the Board of Control. Further local efforts were made from time to time until the year 1854, when the cause of native education received an important impulse from the Home Government, leading to the establishment of three Indian universities in 1857, the year of the mutiny. Even in these dark times the work of education went on, and the name of Elphinstone was again associated with the cause of its advancement in Bombay. Under the guidance of Lord Elphinstone, when Governor, the senate was constituted and bye-laws framed. Ten years later public opinion was again roused, and funds were raised for the erection of new buildings suitable to the new institution. I have before me the report of the proceedings, in which the Earl of Mayo (Governor-General), Lord Napier of Magdala, and Sir James Ferguson, at that time Governor of South Australia, took a part. The Rev. J. Wilson, Vice-Chancellor of the University, opened the proceedings with an address, in which he pointed to the heraldic emblems of the house of Elphinstone, recalling the services rendered by two members of that family to the institution; and after dwelling on their acts and those of other labourers in the cause, he wound up with a list of the benefactors of the institution, a noble tribute to the public spirit of the inhabitants of the Presidency.

I resumé my selections from the journal and correspondence :—

'*February* 10, 1824.—I yesterday finished, and to-day reviewed Butler.⁵ The scope of his argument seems to be that, as

⁵ *Analogy of Religion.*

there is no reason to think our being ends with what we call our death, it is natural to suppose that we shall go on improving as we do in this world, and that, as here, our fate will depend a good deal on our own conduct; that, as we see pain and punishment here, we may expect to see it hereafter; that as the events of this world appear to form part of a scheme of which we only see or understand a portion, it is probable that those of the next world also will do the same, or rather that both form a single scheme with which we are now but partially and imperfectly acquainted. In such a state of things it was natural that some revelation should be made, and it was to be expected that it should be obscure and liable to objections; that, as God has not in the natural world made happiness universal and unconditional, it should be not cause of doubt if He does not do so in revelation. In like manner, as He has not endued us with clear and certain knowledge of what is for our advantage in this world, we should not expect an entirely clear intimation by revelation; and as God does not in the operations of nature adopt what seems to us the correct way of accomplishing His ends, we should be prepared to find His ways, as displayed by revelation, equally incomprehensible and inconsistent with our notions of perfection. On the whole, this reasoning removes most of the presumptions that might be formed against Christianity from considering its doctrines without the evidence of their truth, and this is all which Butler professes. The rest must be accomplished by an examination of the proofs by which the truth of the Christian revelation is established.

February 19.—I have read Paley and a good deal of the learned and candid Lardner, looked into Paley's "*Horæ Paulinæ*," enough to comprehend the drift of the argument. I also read Middleton's "*Free Enquiry*" and some of his other works, and often examined the Evangelists, Acts, and Epistles. Nothing delighted me so much as the Sermon on the Mount. I am now reading Erskine's "*Evidences*," which seems a feeble piece of sentimental declamation, a perfect contrast to the manly simplicity of Paley and Butler.'

(Advice to a Young Officer.)

‘ June 1, 1824.

‘ I hear you have turned a great native and great nautcher. It is so very important to get acquainted with the natives and to know their manners and character, that I repress a strong prejudice which I have always had against Europeans adopting the native dress, in the idea that it is worth while even to do that, provided it leads to your taking an interest in the people ; but I must caution you against pushing it too far, for I never saw a European who adopted the dress of the natives, and gave much into their pleasures who ever perfectly recovered his place among Europeans. I hope you will like the natives and acquire their language, but do not sink to their level.’

‘ Coondalla, November 17, 1824.

‘ My dear Strachey,—I only write to thank you for your letter of April 5, without a word to say but what Providence may send in the progress of my letter. I must long ago have described the straw-built shed on the edge of the chasm opposite to that where you showed your diplomatic talents with the Mahratta guard so skilfully as to get a lodging in the chokey. This is the old ghaut down which we were so glad to retreat with old Forlorn ; and here we are in quiet possession, with gentlemen and ladies pitched all about for the benefit of the Deckan air. The greatness and suddenness of the change only leads one to expect other changes as great and sudden, when the ill-cemented fabric of an empire may tumble down like a house of cards ; or rather, when our government may slip from the soil, to which it is bound by no ties, like an avalanche in the Alps.

‘ I was over at Poona two days ago. Grass grows where the Sungum stood, but the walls and the gardens remain, and a body of Hindustanee horse are cantoned on the ground where the bazaar was. If I did not think I had written you all this when I was last at Poona, I could give you numerous

instances of the *gerdishee geetee*.⁶ It is strange I should think I had nothing to say, when I have a step so repugnant to your ideas as sending home a printer to defend. Of course you admit that a free press and a foreign yoke are incompatible with each other; but I dare say you think (what was true formerly) that the natives have nothing to do with the press, or it with them. If this were true it would destroy all the interest of the subject, for it signifies little whether 25,000 European soldiers and 2,500 free merchants have a free press or not; but some of the natives at the Residencies now read our papers, have papers of their own, talk of liberty and Whigs and Tories, and are in a rapid progress of improvement, which nothing but some convulsion can check. Such a convulsion could be produced by too early excitement to exert their national independence. The vast mass remain in their original ignorance, and look up to Government with blind respect because they are used to it. All, however, are ready to trample on it if they see it despised by their superiors. The Sepoys in particular, who have had so many lessons, are ready enough to observe the opinion their officers have of the Government, and to acquire confidence in themselves and contempt for all classes of their superiors, when the example is set them by those superiors themselves. The European part of the army like the stimulus of Buckingham's morning dose, but it would not get into their heads unless connected with some question about batta, tent contracts, promotion, or, in short, some of those topics which have more than once shaken the Government, even when the foundations had not previously been loosened by the press. The remaining portion of the Europeans, though probably at least two-thirds of them can read, are not of sufficient importance to make it expedient to risk an empire for the sake of furnishing them with amusing newspapers. All this, however, does not concern me; for all I have to do with the restriction consists in my adopting Lord Hastings' rules when I did away with the censorship. The first of those rules forbids reflections

⁶ Revolutions of the world.

on the judges. Our Chief Justice quarrelled with the whole bar, and formed a strong party against him in the society. One of the newspapers belonged to that party, and published reports by members of the bar, which the Chief Justice, Sir E. West, complained of in March last, as reflecting on him. Warning was given to both the editors on that occasion; but in August the Chief Justice complained that he was attacked as usual. Threats were then addressed to the editor complained of, who was told he would be sent home if he again offended. Next day he did again offend by an attack on the second judge, Sir C. Chambers. Instead of being sent home he was required to apologise; he would not, and he was sent home. The truth is, he was before under orders from the Court of Directors to be sent home unless a licence arrived for him by a certain day, which had elapsed. He had no profession in this country but that of editor, and the proprietors could turn him off if he submitted; while, from their wealth and interest, they could also provide for him if he went home. Home, therefore, he was willing to go; and as the law required that he should be sent by a Company's ship, it was necessary to send him by China (no ships go direct) in the only ship that was to sail for nine or ten months. He was told, however, that he might stay for three months if he could give security for going then, or when called on. This he refused, pretending that the security was excessive, though it did not signify if it had been for a hundred millions, unless he meant to break his pledge and stay beyond the time. By these means he got up a tolerably hard case, and had nearly got a harder by going home a charter-party passenger, when the Government cut him out of that advantage by paying 700 rupees for his passage at the cuddy table. To sum up: as there were regulations, it was necessary to enforce them; and as the other party would make no concession, it was necessary to proceed to extremes. Not being particularly cordial with the judges, I felt it more my duty to support them, as the belief that they were deserted by the Government would have emboldened their enemies; but, even in the best of times, I could not have turned a deaf ear to their

complaints. I conclude abruptly to save the other half-sheet, which I am sure you will approve. 'M. E.'

How strongly he was impressed with the ephemeral character of British dominion in India appears in many notes in his journals. A simile is employed in a letter written only a week after the date of the above, which seems more apposite than those which I have quoted. Some native regiments at Barrackpore, on being ordered to Burmah during the war, broke into mutiny. This was put down very roughly, and the contagion did not spread. Mr. Elphinstone, commenting on the occurrence, wrote to Metcalfe as follows: 'The business at Barrackpore is shocking, but not alarming, especially as the native officers are not concerned. I used to think our empire made of glass; but when one considers the rough usage it has stood, both in old times and recent, one is apt to think it is made of iron. I believe it is of steel, which cuts through everything if you keep its edge even, but it is very apt to snap short if it falls into unskilful hands.'

The visit to Poona, referred to in the letter to Strachey, was a hurried one undertaken for the purpose of conferring with the Commander-in-Chief and Mr. Chaplin, Commissioner of the Deccan, on the affairs of Kittoor, a small principality in the southern Mahratta country. Mr. Elphinstone was staying at Coondalla, at the head of the Ghaut, and within a long ride of the old Mahratta capital. After a brief stay of four days he rode back to Coondalla, and then returned to Bombay.

The outbreak at Kittoor was a serious affair, and forms the subject of several minutes of this date. Under the original sunnud, the chief and his descendants were entitled to sovereign rights over the territory during the continuance of the direct line. On the death of the Dessye of Kittoor, which took place in October of this year, an attempt was made by some leading men of the principality to set up an adopted son of the late chief. Instructions were given to Mr. Chaplin to assume temporary charge of the principality, pending an inquiry into the relationship of the person adopted.

by the late Dessye. If it should appear that he was descended from the Dessyes who possessed the country before the conquest by Tippoo Guttun, Mr. Elphinstone advised that the Government should waive any irregularity in the form of adoption, and consider any proof of the Dessye's intention as sufficient to justify its recognition. Nothing could be more considerate than the proposal; but while the British Government was deliberating the party at Kittoor proceeded to action, seized the government, and when Mr. Chaplin's assistant proceeded to Kittoor, accompanied by a small detachment, the force was attacked and repulsed, Mr. Thackeray was killed, and two British officers taken prisoners. Apprehensions were felt that the rising would become the nucleus of the disaffected; and as the country to the south and eastward was wild and jungly, the resistance might be prolonged and serious. A considerable body of troops was put in motion to overawe the insurgents, and a proclamation was issued declaring that the territory would be brought under British dominion in consequence of the extinction of the Dessye's family, and another, proclaiming pardon to all (with the exception of the principals in the outrage) who might come in by a certain day, and the punishment due to rebels and those who remained in arms. These measures had the desired effect. The leaders, instead of being emboldened by their first success, took alarm, treated their prisoners with consideration, and released them before the renewal of hostilities; and when the open resistance was put down, the humanity with which the prisoners were treated was pleaded in extenuation of their conduct; and in a minute recorded by Mr. Elphinstone he expressed his opinion that the leaders sinned in ignorance, and were actuated by a mistaken principle originating in their ignorance of the relation of Kittoor to the British Government. Order was finally restored, and an affair which at one time assumed a serious aspect was settled without any further effusion of blood.

Shortly after these events Mr. Elphinstone received a visit from an acute observer, who, after a tour through Northern and Central India, reached Bombay, and has left an interesting

record of his intercourse with the Governor at the time. In Bishop Heber he met a person of congenial tastes in literature. Like his host he had travelled much, and was as eager in the pursuit of knowledge. Such a meeting could not pass without mutual respect and regard. The only bar to this lay in the shyness of the accomplished host. Here is the first allusion to the visit that I find in the journal:—

‘*May 3.*—The Bishop is here, in very general admiration, simple, kind, lively, liberal, learned, and ingenious. It is seldom one sees a character so perfectly amiable. My shyness and awkwardness prevent my getting so well acquainted with him as I could wish.’

The visit of Bishop Heber to Bombay is alluded to in one or two entries that follow, but as slightly as the first.

‘*May 25.*—After council I went to the Canara caves to meet the Bishop and party. We saw the caves, and had some Cashmere and Persian songs.

‘*Aug. 8.*—The Bishop and Mrs. Heber leave us the day after to-morrow. The period of their stay has been extremely pleasant. Both are very agreeable.

‘*Aug. 15.*—I went into town to-day to see the Bishop off. I shall miss him and Mrs. Heber very much, not to mention poor little Emmy.’

This visit, so briefly alluded to, is referred to at much greater length in the Bishop’s own journal. It gives so interesting a sketch of Mr. Elphinstone’s character and conversation. that I transcribe it in full:—

‘We could not leave Bombay without regret. There were some persons whom we were sincerely pained to part with there. I had found old acquaintances in Sir Edward West and Sir Charles Chambers, and an old and valuable friend (as well as a sincerely attached and cordial one) in Archdeacon Barnes. Above all, however, I had enjoyed in the unremitting kindness, the splendid hospitality and agreeable conversation of Mr. Elphinstone, the greatest pleasure of the kind which I have ever enjoyed, either in India or Europe.

‘Mr. Elphinstone is, in every respect, an extraordinary man,

possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for, and application to, public business, a love of literature, and a degree of almost universal information, such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated, and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active political, and sometimes military duties since the age of eighteen, he has found time not only to cultivate the languages of Hindustan and Persia, but to preserve and extend his acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular history of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy. With these remarkable accomplishments, and notwithstanding a temperance amounting to rigid abstinence, he is fond of society, and it is a common subject of surprise with his friends in what hours of the day or night he finds time for the acquisition of knowledge.

‘His policy, so far as India is concerned, appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal, and he is evidently attached to, and thinks well of, the country and its inhabitants. His public measures, in their general tendency, evince a steady wish to improve their present condition. No government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter, and in the administration of justice to the natives in their own languages, in the establishment of punchayets, in the degree in which he employs the natives in official situations, and the countenance and familiarity which he extends to all the natives of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the system of government pursued in those provinces of our Eastern empire which I had previously visited. His popularity (though to such a feeling there may be individual exceptions) appears little less remarkable than his talents and acquirements, and I was struck by the remark I once heard, that “all other public men had their enemies and their friends, their admirers and their

aspersers, but that of Mr. Elphinstone everybody spoke highly." Of his munificence—for his liberality amounts to this—I had heard much, and knew some instances myself.

‘With regard to the free press, I was curious to know the motives or apprehensions which induced Mr. Elphinstone to be so decidedly opposed to it in this country. In discussing the topic he was always open and candid, acknowledged that the dangers ascribed to a free press in India had been exaggerated, but spoke of the exceeding inconvenience, and even danger, which arose from the disunion and dissension which political discussion produced among the European officers at the different stations, the embarrassment occasioned to Government by the exposure and canvass of all their measures by the Lentuli and Gracchi of a newspaper, and his preference of decided and vigorous to half measures, where any restrictive measures at all were necessary. I confess that his opinion and experience are the strongest presumptions which I have yet met with in favour of the censorship.

‘A charge has been brought against Mr. Elphinstone by the indiscreet zeal of an amiable but not well-judging man—the “field officer of cavalry,” who published his Indian travels, that “*he is devoid of religion, and blinded to all spiritual truth.*” I can only say that I saw no reason to think so. On the contrary, after this character which I had read of him, I was most agreeably surprised to find that his conduct and conversation, so far as I could learn, had always been moral and decorous, that he was regular in his attendance on public worship, and not only well informed on religious topics, but well pleased and forward to discuss them; that his views appeared to me, on all essential subjects, *doctrinally correct*, and his feelings serious and reverential; and that he was not only inclined to do, but actually did more for the encouragement of Christianity and the suppression or diminution of suttees, than any other Indian governor has ventured on. That he may have differed in some respects from the peculiar views of the author in question I can easily believe, though he could hardly know himself in what this difference consisted, since I am assured

that he had taken his opinion at second hand, and not from anything which Mr. Elphinstone had either said or done. But I have been unable to refrain from giving this slight and imperfect account of the character of Mr. Elphinstone as it appeared to me, since I should be sorry to have it thought that one of the ablest and most amiable men I ever met with were either a profligate or an unbeliever.'

In a letter to Mr. Wilmot Horton he describes Mr. Elphinstone as 'one of the ablest and most gentlemanly men I have ever known, and possessing a degree of popularity and personal influence, as well as an intimate knowledge of every person and thing within the government, which I never saw before, except, perhaps, in the Duke of Richelieu, at Odessa.'

In a letter dated June 7, 1825, the Bishop describes the natives of India as 'most eager after knowledge and improvement, with a remarkable talent for the sciences of geometry, astronomy, &c., as well as for the arts of painting and sculpture. In all these points they have had great difficulties to struggle with, from the want of models, instruments, and elementary instruction, the indisposition or rather the horror entertained till lately by many among their European masters for giving them instruction of any kind, and now from the real difficulty which exists of translating works of science into languages which have no corresponding terms. More has been done, and more successfully, to obviate these evils in the Presidency of Bombay than in any part of India which I have yet visited, through the wise and liberal policy of Mr. Elphinstone; to whom this side of the peninsula is also indebted for some very important and efficient improvements in the administration of justice, and who, both in amiable temper and manners, extensive and various information, acute good sense, energy, and application to business, is one of the most extraordinary men, as he is quite the most popular Governor, that I have fallen in with.'

When Bishop Heber's journal was published, Mr. Elphinstone expressed some misgiving to a friend lest it should appear that he had in his conversation with the Bishop expressed more

than he felt. It is certain that his religious opinions were not of the orthodox character the Bishop supposed, but such were his natural piety and his leanings to Christianity that a casual acquaintance might be easily misled as to his views. I had frequent conversations with him in his later life on theological subjects, on which his reading had been extensive, and it was not until after I had known him some years that I was made aware as to the length which his doubts carried him. He had, as has been already seen, paid attention to the historical evidences of Christianity, and he valued the writings of Lardner, whose works were on his shelves, and he recommended them to my perusal.

There are very few allusions to matters of faith in his journals or correspondence, but I gather from what I have seen that his opinions on such subjects, like those of most people who think much, underwent several phases during a long life. He passed his early career in a society where scepticism was the rule and openly avowed, and he certainly did not escape from the contagion; but even then it seems clear, from allusions in his letters, that he broke unwillingly from his early belief. I used to think, and the opinion is confirmed by reading his journal, that his rules of life and conduct had something of the ancient Stoic. '*Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare*' was his ruling idea. I remember his quoting the line with great emphasis, and expressing a regret that Johnson in his paraphrase had altered what was truly the moral of Juvenal's satire.

Certainly he cherished through life the grand idea of the heathen philosopher that man may by force of character and resolution raise himself above the trials and accidents of life, and he exhibited in his own life the better side of the Stoic's character without its harshness. One who had the best means of judging of his opinions in later life considered that they were those of a devout Unitarian, and I think this represents the prevailing tone of his views. This, indeed, I should infer from some passages in his later journals where he refers to religious subjects, but they are rare.

It will not be inappropriate to introduce at this stage some reminiscences of one of his contemporaries referring to this period of his career.

The following was communicated to me by Mr. John Warden :—

‘ During the eight years Mr. Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay he visited each part of the presidency twice. I was with him as under-secretary during his last tour through the Peshwa’s country. His habits, whether in the presidency or in the Mofussil, were the same. He rose at daybreak, and, mounting one of a large stud he always had, rode for an hour and a half, principally at a hard gallop. He had a public breakfast every morning, and never left the room as long as one man desirous of speaking to him remained, but after that he was invisible to all but his suite. I have been associated in the same relation with Sir John Malcolm, Lord Clare, Sir Robert Grant, and many good men of business, but Mr. Elphinstone was the best. His industry was such that he took as much pains about a matter of five rupees as with the draft of a treaty. He had the pen of a ready writer, his minutes being written off quickly and without erasure. After luncheon he took a short *siesta*, and in the afternoon read Greek or Latin, and I have been called to him sometimes as late as six o’clock in the evening, and remained till there was only time left to stroll for half an hour before an eight o’clock dinner ; at ten he rose from the table, and, reading for half an hour in his own room, went to bed. Although surrounded by young men, he never suffered the slightest indecorum, and if any one after dinner indulged in a *double entendre*, he would not say anything, but pushing back his chair, broke up the party. We always had in the camp a *shikaree*, whose business it was to inquire for hog, and whenever he brought in intelligence of game Mr. Elphinstone would proclaim a holiday, and go hunting for one or perhaps two days, and he was fond of a chase at any time. In the midst of many striking excellences, that which placed him far above all the great men I have heard of was his forgetfulness of self and thoughtfulness for others.’

Mr. Warden gives some instances of this. On one occasion he made over his official residence at Poona to the Commander-in-Chief, whose wife was delicate, and another house which was at his command to the Archdeacon for a similar reason, while he refused a similar offer of assistance from Mr. Warden himself; and though suffering constantly from lumbago, he slept for weeks in a tent. Mr. Warden adds, 'Compare this with the engrossing selfishness of most great men on service.' He then proceeds: 'Another instance was of a different character, and repeated to me last year in Paris by Colonel Morse Cooper. As a young dragoon he was one of Mr. Elphinstone's guests in one of his tours, and was much chagrined that he could not take a spear at hog-hunting. Mr. Elphinstone mounted him on one of his best horses, which laid the young soldier alongside the hog, and he delivered his spear. Mr. Elphinstone rode up to him and said, "You have won your spurs nobly, and you must allow me to present you with the horse on which you have performed the feat."'

At the close of the year 1825 he received intelligence of the death of his cousin, John Adam, who sailed with him to India, and after filling the highest office in India returned home in broken health, and died soon after his arrival.

'*December 3.*—I this day heard of Adam's death, by which I have lost the friend of my childhood, and the companion of all the best part of my life; his place can never be filled to me, even if there was the most distant chance of my meeting any one possessed of half his good qualities. This is the greatest misfortune that ever has happened or ever can happen to me, and I am astonished at my own insensibility to the extent of it; I could not at first believe the event to be real.

'*December 21.*—Constant employment, which prevents all great enjoyment, leaves no room for deep sorrow, but in times like that just past it is accompanied by a longing for rest, even if it were in the grave. I this day received a copy of a letter from Mrs. Loch, containing an affecting account of Adam's last moments. I wish mine may be as serene.

‘*January 26, 1826.*—I have still a feeling as if some calamity were impending ; and when I think of my remaining friends, it is at first with an impression that they too are dead. The numerous deaths in this part of India add to the feeling of insecurity and of indifference. It seems a matter of course to hear of a death, and one of very little moment if one’s own were to be the next.’

In the following April he wrote to his cousin William Adam on their common loss :—

‘The loss is heavy to us all—to me more than any. I do not remember the time when he was not my dearest friend. We left home together, and spent the long time we have been separated from our family in the strictest friendship. I always looked on his society as the greatest pleasure of the rest of my life, and his death has taken away almost all my interest in returning to England, and all the expectations I had formed of enjoyment in that country. His modest, kind, affectionate, generous disposition would have attached any one to him if he had had no other qualities ; but when they were accompanied with the highest ability, courage, and firmness, they could not but command admiration from all who knew him. This is the impression he has left in India. Even in England, where his public virtues only were known, I am delighted to find he was justly appreciated.’

The notes of his reading during the years 1825–6 are chiefly historical. The reader may remember that he attacked Clarendon during his visit to the Deckan. To this he now returned.

‘*Feb. 18.*—Guicciardini, whom I have read to within one-third of the end, has been suspended for some time, owing to my reading Clarendon instead. I never read him and Hume together without wonder at the candour of the one and the prejudice of the other. The violent Cavalier, writing a history of his own times, inveighs against all the errors and prejudices of Charles’s reign, and speaks of the established rights and liberties of the people exactly as a Whig would do now ; while the philosopher of George III.’s reign scarcely admits that

there were any rights, and treats liberties as new discoveries just coming into notice at this time, and unknown in the sense in which we now consider them. Still plagued with discussions and fears of war with the Chief Justice.

The narrative of Mr. Elphinstone's Indian service is now drawing to a close. About two years after the Bishop's visit he left the shores of India, and for ever, full of honours, and in the enjoyment of a popularity with all classes that has never been surpassed. The reader will have noticed the remark quoted by Bishop Heber, that Mr. Elphinstone was an exception to the ordinary lot of public men; that while others had their enemies and their friends, 'of Mr. Elphinstone everybody spoke highly.' There are occasional allusions in his journal to breezes and disputes, but nothing that interfered with friendly intercourse with his contemporaries. To this there is one exception—and it is painful for his biographer to have to record that the last two years of his career were embittered by a controversy, or rather a series of disputes, alluded to in the last entry from his journal, that calls for some notice, as it was the precursor of a storm that broke out during the administration of his successor.

In 1823 a Supreme Court was for the first time established at Bombay, the administration of justice having been previously carried on in the town of Bombay by a recorder's court, under letters patent of 1798. Of this court Sir James Mackintosh was the most distinguished ornament. By the statute of 1823 the new court was constituted with the same forms and with the same powers and authorities as in that already subsisting by virtue of the several Acts relating to Fort William, Bengal.

On these general terms were founded claims of jurisdiction throughout the territories under the Government of Bombay, which brought the new court and the Executive Government into direct collision. The mandates of the court were openly resisted by the latter, and the unseemly struggle was only terminated by the interposition of the home authorities, who supported the acts of the Governor. The history of this conflict belongs to the biography of Sir John Malcolm. The

matters on which Mr. Elphinstone came in conflict with the court were of minor moment, but they afford an illustration of the extravagant importance which the new judges attached to their position as independent of, and in some respects superior to that of the Governor and his council. It has been seen that one of the first acts of the court was to appeal to the executive to deport an unfortunate editor. The matter might have been dealt with as an ordinary contempt; and it appears from Mr. Elphinstone's papers that one member at least of the local Government urged that the court should be left to deal with the case by its own powers; but this prudent counsel was unwisely put aside, and it was not long before the court took the other side, and contended as strongly for the side of liberty as it had done before for its repression. The dispute took its origin in the Government offering to register at the court some new regulations regarding the press. No act of the Government was valid prior to 1833 within the presidency towns without this process; and under this form the Supreme Court, like the Parliament of Paris of old, claimed the right to judge matters touching the expediency of the proposed regulation. This and other matters in which the court and the Government engaged in conflict were preceded by a quarrel of a personal nature, and of the most trumpery kind. The matters complained of only derived importance in the mind of the Chief Justice from their being, in his view, part of the settled plan of the Governor to humiliate himself and his office. As Sir E. West withdrew the most offensive part of his complaint, and the dispute was made up for a time, I should not have thought it necessary to refer to it were it not for what followed. This unlucky dispute was finally arranged on terms which led to a renewal of friendly intercourse. But the truce did not last long.

This was followed by an unseemly dispute, and Mr. Warden having made a complaint to Council of the treatment he received, the Governor became involved in it, and a renewed correspondence followed, in which the old sores were raked up. The narrative of the transaction is given by Mr. Elphinstone

in a letter to a friend, transmitting the whole correspondence. It proceeds:—

‘Our open war began by Mr. Warden, a member of Council, being summoned as a witness to the Supreme Court, and claiming in a private note to be examined on the bench instead of in the box. The Chief Justice returned the note unopened, with a remark that after a note he had formerly received from Mr. Warden he could open no other. Since then there have been several disputes, the two most serious of which are still pending. The Court of Directors ordered the Bengal press regulations to be offered for registration here; the Supreme Court rejected them as not required, with many panegyrics on the liberty of the press. A Bengal paper exulted in this decision, and reproached the Bombay papers with their silence on this glorious occasion (the Bombay papers had been silent ever since an editor had been sent home on a complaint from the court), but on this defiance one of the Bombay papers replied by defending the press regulations, and saying that they had not much liberty to boast of at Bombay. The other (Bombay) paper took the opposite side, that of liberty and the Supreme Court. The battle raged until the Chief Justice took occasion to threaten the enemy to liberty with fine and imprisonment. The other paper, which took the side of liberty and the Supreme Court, prepared a report of the Chief Justice’s speech (which was most violent and arbitrary), and sent it to Sir Edward for approval. He objected to its accuracy, and sent another mild speech, which the editor published, with an acknowledgment that although he had it from the highest authority, it did not in all respects agree with the notes of his reporter. In this speech the Chief Justice made some pointed allusions to the connection of the Government with the paper which he threatened, and even in the softened edition he still called it “the Government paper.” As this connection between the Government and the newspapers had been a private doctrine of his, I thought it proper, when it was thus officially brought forward, to deny it officially, and to point out that such a statement from the bench gave a colour of truth to certain calumnies

that had appeared at home (in the "Oriental Herald"). Sir Edward's answer (written after a long interval) is recapitulated verbatim in my reply, which I enclose. He has not yet answered it, though written three weeks ago. The other affair is more serious. About the end of the war in 1818 a governor of one of the Peshwa's forts, who was also one of his treasurers, surrendered his fort, but broke his capitulation, and ran away with a good deal of the treasure. The hue-and-cry was raised by the officer commanding the besieging force, and by the then Government of Bombay (Sir E. Nepean's), under which he was acting. The fugitive governor came to Poona, where I was Commissioner under the Supreme Government, and the collector, Captain Robertson, seized him, found a great deal of treasure in his possession, and accounts that showed he had still more to account for. After paying a part of this he was released, and he continued to claim, sometimes part and sometimes the whole of the property as his own; but although he lived for several years, and was a great deal at Bombay, probably consulting the lawyers, he never ventured to come into court. On his death he constituted a Bombay native banker his executor, and sold his claims to him for a trifling sum. This man prosecuted the Company. The want of jurisdiction of the court in a question of prize occurring before peace was quite restored, and in a country subject to the Supreme Government, was urged, as well as the danger of setting afloat all questions connected with the first settlement of a new conquest, but all were overruled; the cause came on, the counsel for the plaintiff declaimed against the Government in the most unmeasured terms, promised to dispel the illusion under which the natives laboured, to expose the misgovernment of the Company, and to prevent the renewal of the charter. The judges listened with favour, the trial was protracted for twenty-one days, and every attempt made to bring out facts unfavourable to the Government. The Chief Justice, though he observed great caution, showed so evident a wish to criminate the Government and its agents, that there can be no doubt the natives will take the hint, and that many more suits will be filed. I do not know any

vulnerable points in the management of the Deckan, but there must in all new settlements be many faults, both in form and substance; and here in particular there must be plenty in form, because we were ordered to make the experiment of a government in the native way, free from the technicalities of our laws and regulations. If such cases arise, or if, as is much more likely, stories are circulated in a less tangible shape, this letter will enable you to put them in their true light. It is for this purpose I write it, and my wish is that it be used with discretion, and more with a view to defence than attack.'

In the course of these proceedings an extravagant proposal was made for the production of the records of the Government connected with the Mahratta war, and an attempt was made to enforce it by the authority of the court. It is needless to add that this was firmly resisted, and it would appear that the demand was stopped or qualified, as the only allusion to it is to be found in two minutes, from which I quote. Mr. Elphinstone writes in a minute, dated September 19, 1826, 'Understanding that the chief secretary has been summoned to attend the Supreme Court, and to produce all the records of the Government connected with the Mahratta war, I beg to suggest that the Advocate-General should be consulted as to the right of the court to enforce such an order, and that (unless the law is imperative) it should on no account be complied with.'

After pointing out the danger of the precedent which would 'put it in the power of every man who chose to file a suit to call for the proceedings in any negotiation or transaction in which the Government might be engaged,' he proceeds, 'The plaintiff's object is apparently to make a demand so preposterous that it is sure to be refused, and then to complain that the necessary information is withheld. To avoid this, care should be taken to furnish every paper that can throw light on the cause. I would even furnish every one where it was mentioned, with the exception of two secret papers where it is noticed incidentally, the disclosure of which might expose the channel through which our intelligence was received.'

Supported by the opinion of the Advocate-General, the Governor returned to the subject a few days later.

‘It is impossible, in so great a mass of papers as the records of the Bombay Government relative to the Mahratta war (most of which I never saw), for me to give any opinion as to the particular papers which it might be pernicious to disclose.

‘There must, I should think, be papers containing suspicions of the fidelity of particular powers; indications of the points in which our own Government is vulnerable; political plans not yet accomplished; several communications from individuals who would be injured by their publication; and many other papers which it would be a breach of duty in us to make known.

‘On this ground, therefore, I would object to the records being furnished; but I would also do so on general principle, if I had no particular reason to think the publication of the records would be hurtful in this instance. If the records of every department are once placed at the mercy of every attorney who makes an application to the Supreme Court, there can be no secrecy in any affair, foreign or domestic, and no confidence in our own deliberations, or in the persons with whom we have to communicate in any transaction.’

On these grounds he advised that the demand should be refused, and proceeded, ‘If the court commit the secretary, a habeas corpus should be moved, and if it should be refused, the papers should be furnished after every possible precaution, by protest and otherwise, to prevent the Government being in any respect responsible for the publication.’

He doubted whether the court would proceed to this extremity in the face of the opinion of the Advocate-General, and added, ‘My reason for saying that the secretary should be allowed to be committed, and a habeas corpus applied for, before the papers are given up, is that we may have clear grounds to bring the question to issue in England. If the Advocate-General should be of opinion that our complaint would be as effectual if the papers were given up at an earlier stage, I should, of course, wish to save the secretary the inconvenience,

and the Government the humiliation which must result from extreme measures ; but I would not run the least chance of leaving the matter in an indecisive state, and I am sure I do not overrate the secretary's zeal when I express my confidence that he is equally willing to expose himself to any annoyance that is necessary for the public interests.'

Here the narrative of this curious episode closes, and it may be assumed that on the firm attitude assumed by the Government the preposterous demand was dropped.

It is just to Sir E. West that I should add, that when the accounts reached England of the conflict which arose under Sir John Malcolm's administration between the court and the Government on the jurisdiction of the former, Mr. Elphinstone at once wrote to a friend that his old adversary was incapable of the folly of pushing the claim of the court to such a length. Sir E. West, it should be added, died a year or two later, and it was by his successor, Sir R. Grant, that the new claims were advanced that brought matters to a crisis.

The letter from which I quote was addressed to Sir J. Wedderburn, Accountant-General at Bombay, with whom Mr. Elphinstone corresponded after he left India. It is dated August 1827.

'I was very sorry to hear of the continued disturbance with the Supreme Court, though the spirit of discord was first evoked by the late Chief Justice. I think too highly of his abilities to believe that he would ever have been carried away to such extremities, as much better natured men have allowed themselves to be betrayed into. It is, perhaps, lucky on the whole, as it has led to a most complete decision of the whole question here ; but it is to be regretted on account of Sir R. Grant, who seems an amiable man in private life. The Board of Control are greatly exasperated with him.'

I must now bring this chapter to a close. In June 1825 Mr. Elphinstone paid his last visit to the Deckan, and remained there some months. While at Poona he sent in his resignation of the Government, a step long pondered over, and now finally decided upon. The friends at home to whom he communicated

this resolve concurred in dissuading him from the step, but his mind was now made up, and his thoughts were turned homeward. His dispute with the Chief Justice had assumed a painful form, and matters did not go smoothly in council as heretofore. His education plans received little encouragement from the Home Government; and, though still in the prime of life, the climate had told on his constitution, and every returning hot and rainy season brought with them discomfort and occasional suffering, followed by mental depression. He had acquired by his savings the competency he aimed at; and if he retired now it would be with honour, and if he stayed he must be prepared for a turn of fortune. These and other considerations were balanced in his mind, but they carried with them forebodings at the prospect of a change from a life of activity and usefulness for one of retirement and inaction; for, strangely enough, no thought of engaging in literary work at home seems to have at this time entered his mind.

‘Poona, June 16.—I have just sent home my resignation, which makes this day a kind of epoch. I hope I may never repent of it. Indians often do; but I have done it deliberately, and with no extravagant expectations. I have been thirty years in India, and I shall have at least 2,500*l.* a year. If I am to go at all, it is time. I shall also have been eight years in this Government, and ought not to run the risk of being removed against my will, or to remain any longer exposed to the power of fortune.

‘August 19.—I have been very busy. A party last night; pleasant enough. The weather has been hot and dry; to-day it was cloudy and very agreeable. The few that dined at home to-day are gone to a nautch at Ballajee Punt Nattoo’s, and I am left alone, as I was at this place many years ago (Nov. 16, 1818). I walked a little by moonlight, and then read the journal of that day. Those were the days of energy, of promise, and of performance. These are far more languid, but neither unpleasant nor quite unprofitable. If I should live another eight years, where shall I be? and what will be my views? Will it be a time of study and quiet, or one of torpor broken only by

petty annoyances? I read my speculations about home before I left the Deckan, and after I got to Bombay. I find the solid parts of my comfort (money) better, and the rest not much worse than it was then. A very handsome certainty has succeeded to what little remained there of hope and fear.

‘*August 20.*—Not being able to sleep, I got up early, and rode first to the Sungum, and then round by the coast and up to the hill where Hamilton and I went the evening before Holkar’s battle. I was sleepy at first, and the places made little impression; but after some time the recollection of those old times returned. How totally unlike the present! The change in this place, though most complete, was the least striking; the change in myself—in all around me, in India, and in the world—is almost total; yet those days of youth were not, as might be fancied, days of thoughtless pleasure, but often of deep despondency, mixed with ardent aspirations after better things. Had the life I have since led been offered to me then, I am sure I should have rejected it with disdain. But all is now changed, and I perhaps am more fortunate in the prospect of going to my grave in obscurity than I should have been if any of my wild and visionary wishes had been realised.

‘*Oct. 27.*—Rode to-day alone to the Kirkee bridge, visiting as I passed the little recess in the river bank where Hamilton and I used to bathe in time of old. It was quite unchanged, and everything as it then stood was fresh in my mind. I then went to Kirkee bridge, up to the village (but could not find the Belle Alliance), and rode along the places which I remembered in those times. Then looked over the quiet plains to the west, and home by and through the Sungum, which I probably saw for the last time. This gave rise to an abundance of recollections.’

(*To Henry Ellis, Esq.*)

‘Camp, Lonud, October 30, 1826.

‘My dear Ellis,—I have just been reading a letter to Sir Charles Forbes, of which I am told you are the author, and I

cannot refrain from thanking you for the pleasure it has given me. I cannot judge of your home arrangements, and I do not entirely agree in your plan for the distribution of the supreme power in India (I should rather say that I have not considered it than that I disagree from it); but all the rest of your views appear to me admirable, and some of them I am delighted to see in print, and look on their appearance as the most favourable sign of the improvement that is going on in our ideas about India. I particularly allude to your opinions in favour of the admission of natives to all offices. It has always been a favourite notion of mine that our object ought to be to place ourselves in the same relation to the natives as the Tartars are in to the Chinese; retaining the government and military power, but gradually relinquishing all share in the civil administration, except that degree of control which is necessary to give the whole an impulse and direction. This operation must be so gradual that it need not even alarm the Directors (as you suppose) for their civil patronage; but it ought to be kept in mind, and all our measures ought to tend to that object. The first steps are to commence a systematic education of the natives for civil offices, to make over to them at once a larger share of judicial business, to increase their emoluments generally, and to open a few high prizes for the most able and honest among them. The period when they may be admitted into Council (as you propose) seems to be distant; but they might very safely be consulted on all topics not political, and where there were no secrets to keep, and no places to dispose of. I am not certain whether colonisation is a positive evil, but it is a very dangerous experiment. Even now most writers on India fix their attention almost exclusively on the Europeans and those connected with them. Hence arise many of the errors which you point out (about the press, half-castes, &c.); and it is much to be feared that, if we colonised, this false view would become more general: but still, if we could contrive to bring out capitalists who should give a stimulus to trade, and teach European improvements, while they were prevented by laws from entering into the employments de-

signed for natives, it would be of infinite use to India. Without such laws as I mention, the superiority of European colonists would by degrees effect their introduction into all places of trust, and the natives would sink to helots. I entirely agree with you as to the danger of extension of territories beyond India. No consideration should tempt us into such a course. With regard to the native princes here, you may leave them to their natural fate. Every Indian government (perhaps every Asiatic one) expires after a very short existence. When there are no Europeans at hand the country passes from the Ghuznevies to the Ghoories, from the Affghans to the Moguls, from the Moguls to the Mahrattas. Where there is a stable government, such as Europeans alone can found, it must necessarily swallow up all the ephemeral governments around it; and to this, not to the subsidiary system, we may ascribe what has happened already, and what is still in progress. I must end this hurried and confused epistle, which will be doubly tedious if you are not the author of the pamphlet that has drawn it forth.

‘Yours, &c.,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

(To Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie.)

‘Salpee, Nov. 15, 1826.

‘My dear Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie,—It says little for my gratitude that I have not earlier “bid the liquid ruby flow” in thanks to the donor, but silence was not owing to my want of sense of your goodness. Lady Bradford, who was the bearer of the ruby flow, has been my neighbour at Poona almost ever since her arrival. She has lately been gratified with several spectacles at Poona, especially the entry of the Raja of Sattara, a potentate who has sprung up, or at least has broke prison, since you left India, and whose visit I have just been returning. He is the most civilised Mahratta I ever met with, has his country in excellent order, and everything, to his roads and aqueducts, in a style that would do credit to a European. I was more struck with his private sitting-room than anything’

I saw at Sattara. It contains a single table covered with green velvet, at which the descendant of Sivajee sits in a chair, and writes letters, as well as a journal of his transactions, with his own hand. I do not know what his ancestor would think of so peaceful a descendant. He gave me at parting the identical *bangmuck* (literally, tiger's claws) with which Sivajee seized the Mogul General in a treacherous embrace when he stabbed him and afterwards destroyed his army. They are most formidable steel hooks, very sharp, and attached to two rings fitting the fingers, and lie concealed in the inside of the hand. Believe me, yours most sincerely,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

‘November 15, 1826.

‘My dear Erskine,—I was very much obliged for your letter of May 13, and for the clear view it gives of the manner in which India is regarded in England. The reforming party seem always to consider this a European colony, and totally to lose sight of the natives. In all their plans we hear a good deal of the half-castes, but the Hindoos and Mohammedans seem never to be thought of. This is the reason why a free press is thought so desirable, as doubtless it would be if none but our own countrymen were to be excited by it. Colonisation is cried out for, without any fear that the present possessors of the country will be crowded out or displaced. I wish some man of sense, who was not Indian enough to think our present system perfect, and yet Indian enough to know that there were sixty millions of people under our rule, besides the Europeans, would bestow some thought on the future government of this country. What strikes me as the point to which we should direct our course is to improve the natives by good laws and education, and gradually to admit them into all civil offices, reserving to ourselves the military power and political control. To this object I would make everything subservient. The press should be no freer than was necessary to impart knowledge without exciting political feeling. Colonisation should be pushed no further than would draw to India a portion of the capital and knowledge of Great Britain, without introducing a crowd of needy Euro-

peans to supplant the natives in all their present employments. I do not mean to say that this could go on without the press in time becoming free, and the people politicians ; but that period would be remote, and on our expulsion, which of course would soon follow, we should leave behind us a people capable of maintaining the institutions which we had formed. I have taken up so much paper in speculating that I have little left for the more useful purpose of answering your questions about facts. The regulations are finished and nearly printed. I will send you a copy when I get back to Bombay. With regard to education, I proposed in the end of 1823 a plan for the education of the natives, which was perhaps too extensive. It failed from opposition in council (Warden having started a counter plan), and has met little support from the Directors. I, however, continue to push the subject from time to time, and hope that sooner or later something will be done to keep pace with the magnificent establishments which have nearly within the same time been set on foot in Bengal. In the meantime we have got a most zealous advocate for education (Captain Jervis, of the Engineers), in a situation which gives him a sort of superintendence of our arrangements for improving it. We are bringing up and sending out schoolmasters with small salaries, and are printing books, besides offering rewards as high as 5,000 rupees and more, if recommended by a committee, for translations from English into the native languages, or for original treatises on those languages on subjects of science. To my great disappointment this invitation has produced hardly any candidates. The natives I think well inclined to receive education, if we would give it. The Deckan system is modified by the abolition of the commission, the appointment of two judges, the gradual disuse of punchayets and great employment of moonsifs.

‘ The new regulations are the ten with a dispensing power in the judges ; and the great difference between this and the provinces consists in the greater employment of natives, the Europeans being almost entirely employed in hearing appeals and in control. The revenue system is little altered, but a revenue survey with a view to a moderate equal and fixed

assessment is in progress. I must now conclude. I long to see my old friend Baber in print. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Erskine, and believe, &c. ‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

On his return to Bombay at the end of November he laid before his council a report of his visit to the Deckan. It describes his meetings with the different chiefs, their complaints or applications, and enters in some detail on matters of civil administration. I give some long extracts expressing his general views on the progress of the country since it became a British province. The reader will not fail to note the candour with which he passes in review the success or failure of his former plans.

‘At Rehmatpoor I met seven chiefs of the family of Putwurdun, also Vencal Rao, Gorepura, Raja of Moodhole, and the chiefs of Nergoond and Ramdroag. Appa Dessye was indisposed, and did not leave Nepaunnee.

‘The whole of these chiefs are still in possession of the same lands that they held in the Peshwa’s time. A continuance of quiet and the want of any example of military pomp has reduced their retinues since my last visit to the Deckan. Some of them were then attended by as many as a thousand or fifteen hundred men, with several guns. None now had more than an escort of two or three hundred horse, and they often rode in company with only one or two attendants.

‘These chiefs, holding their estates secure and free of every sort of demand on the part of Government, are no doubt in a much better situation than they were under the Peshwa; but they are now in complete subjection to the Government, the orders of which they cannot resist or evade like those of the Peshwa, and this circumstance must have diminished their feelings of pride and independence. I think also from the time when our administration assumed a settled shape they have been treated with rather less respect and consideration than was intended in the original plan. It ought to be a rule with the Government to discourage all direct interference with them, even in cases

justified by their agreements, as long as general advice is sufficient to prevent great oppression. The issue of orders by the local authorities direct to their officers should likewise be discouraged, unless in case of pursuit of offenders, or other urgent occasions. However the chiefs may feel these annoyances, it must give them satisfaction to contrast their situation with that of the Jageerdars of the Raja of Sattara, whose own attendance and that of their troops is rigidly exacted.

‘The many minutes and letters which I wrote while in the Deckan render it unnecessary to go into particulars about the affairs of the Jageerdars, or about the details of judicial or revenue business; but, as this is probably the last time I shall visit the Deckan, it may be useful to show in what particulars each branch of the administration has answered or fallen short of the expectations entertained when we took possession of the country.

‘After what has been said of the Raja of Sattara, it is scarcely necessary to say that his own conduct and the success of his administration have exceeded our utmost anticipations.

‘In the case of the Raja of Colapoor our plans have been less successful, owing to the character of the present Raja. We have been compelled to depart from our plan of non-interference, and have established by treaty the right to take part even in internal arrangements. We should, however, be careful to abstain as much as possible from the exercise of this right, and to return to our old policy as soon as circumstances will allow us.

‘The tranquillity of the country has surpassed expectation, and most of the reductions in the military department have probably been made.

‘On a general view of our revenue system, it has not turned out worse than was expected.

‘No survey or regular reduction of the assessment from one-half to one-third has yet taken place, but the plan is at length in full activity, and no further obstacles are likely to present themselves.

‘In the meantime by partial reductions of assessment, and still more by the stop put to unauthorised exactions, the burdens of the people have been much lightened, and, in spite of bad seasons and redundant produce, their condition is probably better than in the best years of the Peshwa’s government.

‘The police is worse than under the Mahrattas, but not perhaps so bad as was expected. There have been two or three bodies of banditti even in the neighbourhood of Poona, and there is one at present. The present is headed by persons who have been in our power, but were released from want of proof.

‘This last fact gives a bad impression of the effect of the change in the system of criminal justice ; but there has hardly been time to judge of its effects.

‘I do not, however, believe that crimes, except gang robbery, are at all increased, or vices, except perhaps drunkenness, in the southern Mahratta country.

‘Most of the above observations apply chiefly to the districts of Poona and Ahmednuggur ; Darwar is less changed, and in Candeish the alterations, since we obtained possession of it, have almost all been for the better. The change from the most perfect anarchy and violence to quiet and security has been complete ; and, although a long time must be required to restore the population, and clear away the jungle, we have the satisfaction of knowing that there are now no obstacles to the progress of those improvements.

‘No part of our system has been so unsuccessful as that for the administration of civil justice. The alterations in that department have been precisely those anticipated in the 112th page of the printed Report on the Deckan in 1819.

‘Difficulties have been found in getting business done by punchayets ; stricter rules were adopted for their proceedings, and more superintendence introduced ; and this also proving insufficient, the number of moonsifs has been greatly increased, and most of the judicial business is done through them, with an appeal to a European judge.

‘The effect of the introduction of a separate adawlut has

been nearly what might have been expected. More people get justice than formerly, but many more are harassed by the process of dispensing it; and, as this last evil is most at variance with Mahratta habits, they are probably not pleased with the change.

‘But the general character of our government has departed more than any particular branch of the administration from what was contemplated in 1819.

‘If it should appear that the encroachments on the former system have not originated in its want of adaptation to the circumstances of the country, it will, I hope, be equally apparent that it has not been occasioned by any want of interest in that system on my part, or of candour on that of my colleagues. The cause, I conceive, is to be found in its inconsistency with European notions, and with the principles of administration established in all our Indian possessions.

‘The effect of this opposition is in part explained in the following passage from my Report in 1819 :—

“There must, however, in the system now proposed be a considerable sacrifice of form, even some sacrifice of essential justice, and it is to be expected that the abuses which will be observed under it will give particular disgust to most of our officers, because they are repugnant to our ways of thinking, and we are apt to forget that there are equal blemishes in every other system, and that those that are the least offensive in our eyes are often the most disgusting to the natives. This unsuitableness of the native system to European ideas is, however, a very serious objection to its adoption, and renders it doubtful if we shall be able to maintain it after the officers to whom it is to be entrusted shall have ceased to be selected merely for their fitness.”

‘This circumstance has operated, although the gentlemen employed in the Deckan have been perfectly fitted for their situation, and has been powerfully aided by another circumstance not sufficiently adverted to before. This is the responsibility which falls on all concerned under a system unprotected by forms and regulations. The most extensive exercise of

discretion passes unquestioned, if authorised by a statute and exerted in a specified form ; but the smallest act of authority becomes suspected if there is anything informal in the proceeding. The consciousness of this feeling has its effect both on the Government and its officers. All become more attentive to the correctness of each separate act than to the general success of the system, and all are anxious for the security which is afforded by legal forms, conformable to the ideas of those who are to judge of their conduct.

‘The native system may long be tried with success in a moderate portion of an extensive government at a distance from the presidency, and out of the neighbourhood of a supreme court ; but, in a country situated like ours in the Deckan, it is in vain to attempt to preserve that system unimpaired.

‘The first effect of the introduction of forms and of the division of authority is, I think, very unfavourable to the natives. They have no longer any heads to look up to. Each person being charged with a department, no one looks after the whole ; and it is only in the duties connected with justice, revenue, or police that our functionaries come in contact with any class of the natives. The effects of this are already observable in the Deckan. The intercourse between those of the higher orders and Europeans is already much less than it used to be, and will probably diminish with every new arrival.

‘Our forms and our regularity—which, even in the mode of administration first adopted, were found to exclude the upper classes of natives from our service—operate still more powerfully under the subsequent change ; and the love of order and uniformity inseparable from our system gradually leads to the abolition of separate authorities and privileges, and to encroachment even on those Jageerdars whose lands are secured by express agreements.

‘These effects have by no means taken place to their full extent in the Deckan, and the design of many of our present arrangements is to prevent, or at least delay, that result. The system there is still much more conformable to native habits, and less repugnant to their feelings than in most other parts of

India; but there is nevertheless a tendency to an opposite state of things, which it will probably be impossible altogether to withstand.'

Mr. Elphinstone returned to Bombay to encounter new worries. His dispute with the Chief Justice was at its height; it had, indeed, pursued him on his tour. But amidst these minor annoyances he had a consolation that never failed: his days at Bombay were numbered, and before the close of the year he would be a free man. Accordingly he set to work like a school-boy to make a calendar, in which the Council days were denoted, and in each successive week he erased one of the number that stood between him and freedom. Thus on January 10 he writes,—

'Murray and I were calculating that I have only forty-two more Wednesdays to pass in India. It is cool and delightful, and has been so all day. Still I look to next November with pleasure, and in general I look to it with impatience.'

A few weeks later he remarks,—

'Wednesday has left only thirty-three Wednesdays.'

And again on June 20,—

'I have been rubbing out my twentieth remaining Wednesday. The time for which I have so long been counting the weeks approaches with a rapidity that is almost alarming. Not that I am less impatient than I was, but I am afraid of being unprepared. I must recommence my studies with vigour. All Greece is still before me untrodden and unexplored.

'Feb. 20.—Still quiet and comfortable. The weather is also now cool, and all is very pleasant if it would last. I have plenty to do, but my leisure is absorbed in Athens and Greece. I went to a ball last night at Sowjee. I was in great hopes of getting Steele for a fellow-traveller, but I find he has made another party.

'Feb. 27.—Steele has since, to my great satisfaction, declared himself one of my party. I am still at Clarke, Walpole, and other books about the countries on my route, and am quite impatient for the arrival of the time. In the evenings I have been reading my old Caubul journals, and they

also animate my zeal. Eight months of India and one of misery at sea are yet to elapse before I stand a single horseman on the desert. In the meantime I have got rid of many disagreeable thoughts, and my time again passes pleasantly.'

The letters to his friend Strachey are now full of his plans, mixed with instructions for the purchase of books of travel, &c. On May 23 he wrote :—

'My dear Strachey,—I wrote to you some time ago to send me guides through Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece. I have no clear ideas on some points. I have got Clarke's "Travels," Dodwell, Hobhouse, the second volume of Walpole's "Turkey," but not the first, which I particularly wish for. I am anxious to have Pausanias in English as well as in Greek—the English good large print if possible (not the wretched print in three volumes that you had when you lived at the Admiral's house in Bombay, and kept a Hajee for your librarian). Leake's "Topography of Athens" is also indispensable, as are Chandler (both Greece and Asia Minor), Wheeler, and probably many of Sir W. Gell's works. I have his "Itinerary in Greece." I want that in the Morea, though I have his "Travels in the Morea." Send them to the care of W. Galt, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul-General at *Grand* Cairo (I may as well be magnificent), and take care that they come there by December 1, at the very latest, with any additions you may think judicious. Recollect—

"Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum ;"

and of those who do, one visit in their life is all they can expect. They should therefore make the most of it. A similar collection for Italy and Sicily you must send to Sir F. Adam at Corfu, to wait my arrival. Your letter of December 14 brought the only accounts I have yet received about my resignation ; but that, joined to the reports brought by the ships up to the middle of January of Malcolm's appointment, have set me quite at ease. If my resignation should after all not have been given in, be prepared to hear of my having hanged myself, or set off

for Egypt without leave, which would be nearly the same thing. If I find the great part of my journey takes longer than I expected, I shall then take my time, arrive at Constantinople in the middle of summer, visit the shores of the Euxine, and enter Greece in autumn, having nothing else to do—

“But just to look about us and to die.”

‘I do not see why I should not take a good look at all that is worth seeing. I do not look to England with that impatience that I once felt, and I expect when I get there to have more pleasure in talking over old stories about Benares and the Holkar Gudee, and the gaieties of 1807, than in anything that is now going on. Blessed is he that expects little, and he shall not be disappointed. *Vale.*’

‘M. E.’

Amidst these matters of absorbing interest he had no time for any reading that did not bear on his travels. To this I have to make one exception. He acquired the possession of a Church Bible, and was delighted to pore over it by candlelight. This is referred to from time to time.

‘*April 19.*—I have a Church Bible, which I can read at night, and do read with pleasure.

‘*April 26.*—I find I can read my Bible by candlelight, which is an immense point gained.’

His health failed during the last rainy season, and I find in consequence many entries full of dread of detention, of forebodings about home life and fear of inaction, but the general tone is of joyous expectancy. The Raja of Colapoor gave some trouble, and for a time there was an apprehension lest he should be detained by a war. The clouds, however, cleared away at last, Colapoor was settled, Malcolm arrived, and the month of October finds him in the midst of farewell dinner parties and addresses. At the close of the month he writes, ‘I have just closed my last black box, but I am unwell, as I have now been for these seven weeks, and do not enjoy the release as I should do. Malcolm, to every one’s surprise, came in on the 26th, in perfect health, and in his usual spirits. All my uncertainties.

are therefore at an end. I have only now to get well, which I suppose I shall do on board ship.

‘*October 31.*—I have just struck out my last Wednesday. To-morrow I resign, and commence the life of freedom for which I have so long sighed.

‘*November 8.*—Before I pack up this book for the purpose of sending it to Europe, I take the opportunity of entering my last remarks. Hurry of business and packing, sickness, and, still more, the stupefying effects of some medicines, prevent my reflecting on the peculiarity of my situation, or feeling many things that would otherwise have made a deep impression on me.

‘Malcolm’s kindness, friendship, and good sense and good humour make him delightful in spite of a few failings. The unexampled kindness of the society and the public are entitled to my lasting gratitude. I feel regret at parting with so many friends, and no doubt shall feel their absence tenfold hereafter; but as yet I do not feel the slightest repentance of having sent in my resignation, and would sail on the 15th (if I could) even if no resignation had ever been hinted at.

‘What the result of this long wished-for retreat may be time alone can show; but age and idleness and insignificance have been amply allowed for, and it will be strange if I find the future worse than I have pictured it.’

Mr. Elphinstone resigned the Government, followed by testimonies of respect and regard that have rarely been bestowed on any public functionary. I find among his papers addresses from the British inhabitants of Bombay and its dependencies, from the civil and military officers serving in the Poona territory, from the members of the Literary Society, and from the clergy;⁷ another, from the natives of the presidency

⁷ I ought not to omit from the list of addresses a piece of poetry that is included in the collection before me, and is headed ‘Address, intended to have been spoken at the entertainment given to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone on Nov. 16, 1827, on the occasion of his leaving India.’ It traces his career from Assye to Kirkee, and passes a high encomium on his military spirit, his statesmanship and private worth, and winds up with a description of the Genius of the Deckan joining with Christian, Guebre, Mussulman, and

of all classes, calls for especial notice from the form which the testimony assumed. The opening paragraph runs as follows:—

‘We, the native princes, chiefs, gentlemen, and inhabitants of Bombay, its dependencies, and allied territories, cannot contemplate your approaching departure from the country without endeavouring to express, however faintly, the most profound and lasting regret which has been occasioned in our minds by your resignation of the government of this presidency. For until you became Commissioner in the Deckan and Governor of Bombay, never had we been enabled to appreciate correctly the invaluable benefit which the British dominion is calculated to diffuse throughout the whole of India. But having beheld with admiration, for so long a period, the affable and encouraging manners, the freedom from prejudice, the consideration at all times evinced for the interest and welfare of the people of this country, the regard shown to their ancient customs and laws, the constant endeavours to extend amongst them the inestimable advantages of intellectual and moral improvement, the commanding abilities applied to ensure permanent ameliorations in the condition of all classes, and to promote their prosperity on the soundest principles, by which your private and public conduct has been so pre-eminently distinguished, we are led to consider the influence of the British Government as the most important and desirable blessing which the Supreme Being could have bestowed on our native land.’

After enumerating the benefits the people had derived from his administration, the address proceeds to remark on his exertions in promoting education, and announces the determination of the subscribers to raise a fund for the purpose of founding one or more professorships for teaching the language,

Hindoo in their farewell, and mourning for the departure of his brothersportsman. Much is made of this apparition, who is flushed with the chase and has just killed his boar, when the rumour reaches him of Elphinstone's departure. He makes an earnest appeal to his friend to remember, in the mountains of his fatherland, the ghauts and precipices of the Deckan,—

‘For here thy praises shall each glen resound,
And all thy sporting haunts henceforth be classic ground.’

literature, sciences, and moral philosophy of Europe. 'Nor can we doubt,' it adds, 'that you will be pleased to comply with our earnest solicitation, that thus we may be allowed to honour these professorships, as a slight testimony of our unceasing gratitude, with that name which we so much revere and admire, and to designate them as the Elphinstone professorships; and that you will permit your portrait to be drawn by an able artist in England, in order that we may place it in the rooms of the Native Education Society, as a permanent memorial of the liberal and enlightened founder of that society.'

In compliance with the desire expressed in this address, a portrait of Mr. Elphinstone, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, was placed in the rooms of the Native Education Society. His statue, by Chantrey, was also raised in the town hall; and the foundation was laid of the Elphinstone College, to which I have already referred. I am told that when the proposal to raise the last-named tribute to his fame was announced to him, 'Hoc potius mille signis' was his eager reply. The pleasure he felt that his name would be connected with a great educational institution was to be fully realised. A sum was subscribed, exceeding two lacs of rupees, and ultimately reached 2,72,000, destined for the 'foundation of professorships for the purpose of teaching the natives the English language, and the arts, sciences, and literature of Europe; to be held in the first instance by learned men to be invited from Great Britain until natives of the country should be found perfectly competent to undertake the office.'

The institution was not established until 1834, owing to delays on the part of the Home Government. The promoters of this plan naturally looked to some aid from the Government, but though their application received the advocacy of Mr. Elphinstone's successor, Sir J. Malcolm, the reply of the Home Government was long in coming. They at length decided to countenance the attempt so far as to allow a liberal rate of interest on the investment, and the Elphinstone Institution, once fairly launched, became the nucleus of subsequent exertions until the contribution of the Government became greater in furtherance of the object to which it became at length alive.

CHAPTER XV.

AN OVERLAND JOURNEY, 1827-1829

EGYPT—SYRIA—ASIA MINOR—APPROACH TO CONSTANTINOPLE—PROGRESS OF THE WAR—PUBLIC FEELING—ARMING THE PEOPLE—VISIT TO ATHENS—COUNT CAPO D'ISTRIA—PASSING TO THE ENEMY'S LINES—THE MOREA—YPSILANTE—ARGOS—THE POLITICAL SITUATION—A GRECIAN STRONGHOLD—COLOCOTRONI—THE CYCLADES—OLYMPIA—ITHACA—CORFU—CANNÆ—ROME—COUNT HAUGWITZ—TALLEYRAND—ENGLAND—ON THE ROAD TO LONDON—ARRIVAL.

Bless'd is the man who dares approach the bower
 Where dwelt the Muses at their natal hour;
 Whose steps have pressed, whose eye has marked afar
 The clime that nursed the sons of song and war,
 The scenes which glory still must hover o'er,
 Her place of birth, her own Achaian shore.
 But doubly bless'd is he whose heart expands
 With hallowed feelings for those classic lands;
 Who rends the veil of ages long gone by,
 And views their remnants with a poet's eye

WHEN Mr. Elphinstone gave up the government of Bombay his public life was closed. Some tempting offers were made to induce him to accept the highest employment, but they were all refused on the score of health, and the remainder of his life, which was prolonged for upwards of thirty years after he left India, was passed in literary retirement or in foreign travel, except during the time that he gave to an historical work. He was much consulted on Indian questions, and I am enabled to offer some of his views, as they were drawn from him by public inquiries, or at the instance of friends. He offered them with some diffidence, for he could not but feel how rapid has been the change in the social and political condition of the country since he took a part in its affairs, and how widely he was separated from the modern school of politicians. His remarks

on such subjects were recorded with thought and care, and his opinions of men and things after his return, which I find entered in his journal, will form the materials of the concluding chapters of my narrative. I regret that I can only find space for a limited number of extracts from the journal he kept during his homeward journey. He wandered through Egypt, Palestine, and part of Syria and Asia Minor, making his way to Constantinople, and thence to Athens, the Morea, and Italy, arriving in England in May 1829. Travellers whose expectations are highly raised are generally disappointed. This was not the case with Mr. Elphinstone. His enthusiasm never flagged. The journey was adventurous, as he passed through the Levant and Greece in troublous times. The battle of Navarino was fought three days after he left Bombay, and it required some enterprise to work his way through the territories of a power with which we were embroiled, some of the countries he visited being the seat of war. The entries in the journal kept during these travels abound in remarks on their social and political state, but its chief interest consists in its containing the notes of a classical tour in regions abounding in memorials of historical or poetic interest, and made by a scholar, a statesman, and an acute observer, some of the provinces visited by him lying out of the ordinary track of travellers.

I must pass rapidly over the first part of the journey. He started from Bombay in company with Mr. and Mrs. Charles Lushington, Mr. Steele, whose name has been already mentioned in the preceding chapter, and two medical gentlemen, one of whom accompanied him in the tour in the Levant. The vessel touched at Mocha, and thence proceeded to Cosseir, from which they reached the Nile, and visited the remains of Karnak and Thebes, under the guidance of Mr. (afterwards Sir Gardiner) Wilkinson; and after a fortnight passed among these remains of ancient civilisation the party proceeded by water to Cairo, which they reached on February 2, 1828. They remained here only ten days, and then passed on to Alexandria, to make preparations for their tour in Syria and Asia Minor. Except for casual allusions to passing events, one

would suppose that the Turkish territory was in the enjoyment of profound peace, instead of being in the throes of revolution. It speaks well for the sagacity of Mehemet Ali, that, although his fleet was destroyed at Navarino, his army held in check by the European intervention, and all his schemes frustrated by the ruinous conflict in which he was engaged, yet he never drew back from his alliance with the Franks. Perfect order prevailed through Egypt, Frank settlers continued to pursue their avocations with confidence, and the travellers were treated with consideration by the Turkish authorities, and with respect by the people.

Everything passed smoothly in the passage through Egypt; the Governor of Cosseir had received orders to offer every assistance to the party, and the Pacha himself offered many apologies, which were probably sincere, that he was obliged to leave Alexandria before their arrival. Henceforward their difficulties were to commence.

On arriving at Alexandria he writes, 'I have chiefly been engaged since I came here in plans about my own journey. Asia Minor has been given up as absolutely impossible without a firman from the Porte; but I hoped, and still hope, to get a passage to the coast of Syria, so as to see Jerusalem and Baalbek by the aid of an Austrian passport, and discretion as to my own nation; but it is difficult to procure a vessel to freight, and the plague, which it seems is now raging in Palestine, is a great discouragement.' The difficulty about a vessel was at length overcome. A Sardinian vessel, the '*Duca di Reichstadt*,' was chartered, and he sailed with his friends Mr. Steele and Dr. Gordon for Joppa, and made an interesting tour in Palestine and part of Syria, visiting Lebanon and the ruins of Baalbek.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this volume of his travels is the account of a visit to Jerash, one of the trans-Jordan ruined cities, whose remains have been better explored in recent times, but in those days could not be visited without some risk. It was easily arranged to procure an escort. The Agha of Jericho, whom they visited, settled with a tribe of

Bedouins to convey them through this wild country, but, though they derived security against the ordinary plunderers of the desert, they were kept constantly on the alert against the attacks of other tribes with whom the escort had blood feuds. The account of the strange life they passed among the Arabs is interesting, but this and the account of the ruined city with its temples and colonnades must be passed over for want of space.

The Austrian passport was of very little service during the journey through Syria, as they found it impossible to maintain their disguise, and on leaving Syria for Asia Minor they decided to travel as Englishmen. The journal of these travels in Syria concludes with the remark:—‘Before leaving Syria I must mention, what hitherto I have from caution avoided to touch on, the effect of our Austrian passports. These were, it happened, of little use, except in getting us leave to land, for avowed English travellers might in all likelihood have journeyed with equal safety. Had they been required, they would probably not have been effectual; they might deceive at small places, where we did not remain, but a short halt always betrayed us. We were found out at Jerusalem, and at Beyrout we were long expected before we appeared. As a protection against the populace, therefore, our assumed character would have been useless, even if in times of exasperation neutral Franks would not be in as much danger as belligerents. The Government might perhaps have respected Austrian passports, even when given to persons not subjects of Austria, but this was not certain; and the advantage was probably compensated by the evil of exciting suspicion by travelling under an assumed character. Taking the comfort of plain dealing and all together, I would prefer the English character in present circumstances.’

They rejoined their vessel at Beyrout, intending to sail for Antioch, accompanied by the consul, Mr. Abbott. This was frustrated by the action of the Pacha of Acre, who at first granted permission for their embarkation, but followed this up by evasive delays; and as Mr. Abbott received information that secret orders had been sent to prevent his departure, and he.

found himself watched by the police, Mr. Elphinstone resolved to carry him off. The evasion is thus described :—

‘ Mr. Abbott has settled a plan of escape, but prefers deferring the execution till this evening. If he succeeds, we shall probably be off immediately for Cyprus. Our original plan having long since become impracticable, and the season being now so far advanced that time is no longer precious, I have ceased to care where I go, provided I go to some new and interesting place. In the meantime I enjoy the present.

τὸ σήμερον μέλει μοί·
τὸ δ' αὔριον τίς οἶδεν ;

It was concerted between Mr. Abbott and the captain that the former should walk out as usual in the evening, and should go straight to the ship's boat, which should be watering at a certain point. If not interrupted he was to embark ; and if stopped, to return home as if he had merely taken a walk. This plan was executed with entire success, and after watching every boat for an hour or two we received the consul and his family on board about half-past six or seven. The want of wind, however, prevented our sailing, and when Mr. Abbott and the ladies were gone to bed we got the ship's and our own arms ready, and would have presented twenty men armed with muskets and cutlasses (besides pistols), sufficient to check any detachment that could have been sent from a garrison of 220 Albanians, which composes the whole force of Beyrout.'

This strong proceeding rendered it dangerous for them to remain in Syria, and they gave up their expedition to Antioch, and sailed for Larnaca in Cyprus.

From Larnaca the travellers proceeded to Lycia, skirting the south-west coast of Cyprus, and passed a delightful week in exploring the antiquities of Antiphellus and Xanthus, and then sailed for Rhodes. Disquieting rumours reached them from time to time as to the state of our relations with the Turks. An Ionian captain whom they encountered at Castel Orizo, reported the murder of an officer of an Austrian ship of war at Makri, which he, the captain, had just left, and he was warned that

the authorities could not answer for the people. The Turks in the west of Asia Minor were said to be much exasperated, and no English, French or Russian traveller could venture there.

They were somewhat reassured on arriving at Rhodes. They were received civilly by the Bey, who assured them that there would be no difficulty in Sultan Mahmoud's time, and promised them assistance; but, when told their route, said he had orders to give passports on the great road, but that if they deviated from it they would require a firman.

Mr. Elphinstone was not deterred by such warning from a journey on which he had for years set his heart, and he and his friends ventured to take their chance. They sailed for Cos, to which he was attracted by the desire to visit the localities described in the seventh Idyl of Theocritus; there they parted company with their chartered vessel, and crossed over in a boat to Boodroom, the ancient Halicarnassus, and began their adventurous journey without waiting for the firman, which was indispensable if they hoped to reach Constantinople. They received it when they were far advanced on their journey.

None of the anticipated difficulties occurred. They were received with civility and even kindness everywhere, though the people on the coast, as they approached Smyrna, were exposed to the incursions of the Greeks, and naturally much exasperated. The aghas, or hereditary chiefs, entertained them hospitably; and the agricultural population, though occasionally suspicious, seemed little affected by the wars and rumours of wars that abounded.

A journey of six weeks through a country rich in architectural remains, and where every step recalled some incident in the history or fiction of the most romantic epoch of Grecian times, brought them to the Dardanelles. They passed the Meander and the Cayster, through Smyrna, Sardis, and the Troad.

The journal gives very full, sometimes minute details of the architectural remains and inscriptions which abound in Asia Minor. These regions have been so thoroughly explored by travellers of old as well as of recent date, that it conveys

little that is new to those who have studied their antiquities. The interest of this narrative consists in the lively account it gives us of the scenery of the country, the social and political condition of the people, and the feelings of the writer in visiting scenes famous in song and famous in story. As he approached Europe, the political interest of his travels increased; he was also drawing near to Athens, and here my extracts from the journal must commence.

From Gallipoli Mr. Elphinstone proceeded to Constantinople by land. He started alone, for his companions went by sea. At this point he experienced another defection; one of his attendants belonged to a proscribed class, and could not venture near the capital. 'I think,' Mr. Elphinstone wrote, 'the people are more civil in this part of Asia than in the south. Our Tartars and Khawas are always ready to do anything, like servants. Our soorajees are the best fellows I ever saw; one (Mohammed) is a model of a soorajee, always laughing and singing, or working hard. He positively refused to cross to Europe, in consequence of his having been a janissary. Mr. Paulovich's Châous also went through a painful operation to efface the mark of that order in his arm.¹ I am now again in Europe: I little thought when I left it that I should next see it after thirty-three years' absence, and in Thrace.'

Though the Russians had now crossed the Danube, no indications of popular interest in the war met him. A Turkish shepherd, whom he encountered, asked his servant if he was a Frank or an Englishman. This distinction, it appears, was not uncommon, and Mr. Abbott is said to have always disclaimed the name of Frank, and insisted on that of Englishman. Mr. Elphinstone adds in a note that in India it is a positive affront to call an Englishman a Feringhee. Further on in his march he observes, 'Agóp [his Greek servant] tells me the people are much pleased to see us, thinking the admission of Franks to Constantinople a sign of peace. This is the only proof of feeling I have heard of about the war, although it is known that the Russians have crossed the Danube, and that war is threatened by France and

¹ The janissaries were destroyed in June 1826.

England. There seems a perfect indifference to public affairs, except among the upper classes. The unpopularity of the Grand Signor, the want of interest in his form of government, and the hope perhaps that public difficulties may produce a recurrence to the old mode of rule, which was so long successful, may be at the bottom of this; and if so, the Grand Signor's safety must rest on the number and fidelity of his new troops. A general action or two, that should disperse the regular army, would place him in a dangerous position. All who loved the janissaries, all who hate the Franks, and who are averse to innovation, and all bigoted Mohammedans must wish him ill; while the exactions necessary to support his regular army have rendered his government very unpopular with those classes of his subjects who would otherwise think little of State affairs. . .

‘Our soorajees to Rodosto were Christians—stupid, sulky fellows compared with our former attendants: one of these was also a Christian. He had the worst horses, and was an habitual drunkard, but still was always allowed to take the lead. There seems, indeed, in all common intercourse to be a great equality between Christians and Mohammedans, though there are distinctions infinitely greater than between Hindoos and Mussulmans in India. All classes eat together here, but no Mohammedan will rise to a Christian of whatever rank. Nor will any Mussulman be a domestic servant to a Christian for any consideration. It is probably a knowledge of this pride that makes us think more of any civility from a Turk than we otherwise should: though some say *Oghur olah* and *Khoosh geldee* to us, the greater part take no notice of us, good or bad; but all who are addressed to ask the way, &c., are civil. At other times they are merely inoffensive.

‘I may remark on the very small number of dervises I have seen. That class, I am told, affect to be liberal and philosophical instead of being fanatical. I have heard that many of them are sofees, which would account for this.’

APPROACH TO CONSTANTINOPLE

‘*July 4.*— . . . I had some thoughts of halting at Buyuk Chehmajeh, but determined to push on, not without hopes of reaching Constantinople that evening. About three I reached Kuchick Chehmajeh, a handsome village. It is entered by a bridge, across which is a barrier, and here I was detained for twenty minutes or more until my Tuzkeareh had been seen and stamped by the Cadhi. At five or thereabouts I reached Injeerlik (Place of Figs), after a march of more than eleven hours, and of about forty miles. It was so cool all day that I never thought of using my umbrella, although I met several Turkish gentlemen with parasols; rather an unusual sight at a greater distance from the capital. One of these was a person of some distinction; he rode in a kind of procession, preceded first by a mounted domestic, then by three horses led by mounted grooms. He was followed by ten or a dozen guards or armed attendants, as well mounted. He was himself a respectable-looking old man in a large red cloak, and carrying a small white parasol. I met to-day another Turkish coach, more of the modern shape, with a flat roof and oval windows, but all (roof and all) painted sky-blue, with rich gilt mouldings. I also met about 150 Anatolian infantry on the way to the frontier. They were preceded by a green banner with a crescent over it, and straggled on in parties of five or six at distant intervals. They were ill-looking men, and had a sulky, sour look. Considering how much we have seen of Anatolia, and how hospitable we have found its inhabitants, one wonders where these sullen warriors are found. Their dress was the usual turban, which among the soldiers is large and loose, and much oftener coloured than white, a brown or coloured jacket, and large loose trousers, puckered up and ending at the knee. They had each a Turkish firelock, besides swords, attaghans, &c. Agóp saluted one of them, who returned no answer. Two others afterwards gave the Salâm Alaikoom to the Tartar, who took no notice of it. One of them took me for a Russian prisoner, and made some remark

on my being taken alive. A body of Tóphees, whom I afterwards met, being used to the capital, came to a more reasonable conclusion; for when one asked another who I was, the other answered that he supposed I was a doctor returning from a visit to some patient in the country. The people in general are pleased to see a European pass, taking it as a sign of peace. There is a little more appearance of war here than further off, though not much yet. Six Tartars in succession from Constantinople passed the *khân* where I slept; and as I was writing notes in the street of a village, I was startled by a cry from all my people to stand aside, and could scarcely get out of the way before six persons, three of them Tartars, galloped past from Adrianople.

‘Nothing is known about the state of the war. I came in sight of Constantinople about half-past one, and continued to see it from time to time till I reached Injeerlik, which is not, in a straight line, more than about four miles distant. The first view was striking, but the point from which it is seen is unfavourable. The city did not seem equal to Delhi, except that four or five mosques seemed of a size exceeding anything there. The country also, though improved by the occasional appearance of villages and cheffleeks, did not at all indicate the approach to a great capital.

‘At Injeerlik I found only a *khán* of the kind described by Clarke under the name of *caravanserai*. It is a large barn, with mangers round it, behind which, as well as in the middle of the buildings, are raised places of masonry for travellers to sleep on. Not liking this place, and my eyes suffering too much from the wind to allow of my remaining in the open air, I was going to take up my quarters in a ruinous house, the only habitable part of which was used as a mill; but a Greek *Bukkál*, who was by, and whose rough manners had before struck me, was so shocked at the proposal that he insisted on my coming with him, and contrived to get a little coffee-house opened, although the owner had gone to Constantinople, and in it I passed the night. The Greek told me of great difficulties in getting bread at Constantinople, the Russians having closed

the Black Sea, and the Greeks the Mediterranean. He complained, as usual, of the English allowing the Greeks to keep the sea, while they refused the same liberty to the Turks. This Greek, like most others in these parts, bore a strong resemblance to a fat Indian Banyan, and was not the least like the stout, active, licentious-looking sailors of their nation in the isles. In the course of the evening a shereef from Constantinople came into the coffee-house, and finding nobody there but me, he immediately entered into conversation. I called Agóp, and we talked for some time. Among other things he said we should find the Turks masquerading in Constantinople, all in Frank dresses, but no Frank arrangements. He then spoke of the scarcity of bread, and said that numbers crowded round every baker's shop, and that he who got a loaf was pointed at as a happy man. He talked of the ill success by land, and said that the Ottoman power was so completely gone at sea that the Captain Pacha was serving ashore at Varna, having no fleet to command. He said the reports of success against the Russians were all nonsense, and that everything was going on as ill as possible.

‘*July 5.*—The position of the Russians was and still is unknown, nor is it at all known whether there has been any battle. Their main body was last heard of at Shoomla, but they may have advanced since then. When they do close with the Turks, it is probable they will break up the regular force, and send the herd of Asiatics back in disorder to Constantinople. It will be then that the Grand Signor will be in danger, and it seems doubtful if all his abilities and firmness will be sufficient to maintain him on the throne. Should a revolution take place, the situation of the Franks will be very precarious, and altogether, I think, this is no time to loiter about Constantinople. Meanwhile all seems quiet. The Asiatic troops are passed on to the frontier as soon as they arrive, and we see nothing but young Nizam Judeeds, the privates reminding me of Sepoys, and the officers strutting about in Cossack pantaloons, and imitating European dandies. The Grand Signor has ordered

all Mussulmans to arm, and hold themselves ready for the field. And the consequence is, that both the times I have visited the Bazaar of Arms I have found it crowded with lawyers and other men of civil habits dressed in the large black cawook and turban, each of whom was making some purchase. I also met similar persons in the streets carrying home firelocks. I should have fancied the arming of the Turkish capital, when the infidels were near, to have been an animated scene. I should have expected that every sword that was purchased would be flourished with boasts of the infidels it was to destroy, and that no Christian would be able to pass the streets without risk of insult, if not of assassination. Instead of this, everything is done in the quietest manner, no interest is shown in the war, and the only feeling apparent in the people is that of reluctance to put themselves to the trouble of preparation. Those who have access to the great, however, describe them as fully alive to the pressing dangers of the situation, and obviously undergoing the greatest perplexity and alarm. Even some of the common people begin to have this feeling. I was joined the other morning on my ride by a respectable effendi, who interrogated me most anxiously about the state of affairs, and did all that Turkish gestures and two or three words of Italian could do to draw forth my knowledge. His anxiety seemed chiefly to be about the part likely to be taken by our Government (he knew me to be British), and the progress of the Russians. Our guide through the bazaar the other day heard one woman say to another, "Perhaps these infidels may know what has become of our husbands." I have no doubt that when the danger becomes apparent and imminent, all this apathy will disappear, and the Turks will burst forth into something of the fury that has always hitherto animated them on such occasions. A constant theme among all the Europeans of Pera is the incredible change that has taken place among the people of Constantinople within these three or four years. They not only say that if a state of things like the present had occurred then, they would probably all have been massacred, but they also relate insults and risks to which they have actually been exposed during the

ascendency of the janissaries. These stories are not consistent with the accounts of former travellers since the time of Sultan Selim, who generally, if they conducted themselves with prudence, escaped everything like insult from the Turks. The alteration was probably caused by the Greek insurrection, which seems at first to have occasioned much more hatred to the Christians than it does now.'

Constantinople, with its picturesque surroundings, the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, are well described in the journal, but amid these scenes of beauty the travellers were constantly reminded of the savage rule of the Turks.

'I was a good deal disappointed in a near examination of the outside of the Grand Signor's palace. Towards the land the Seraglio walls are high, with square towers and battlements, not originally well built, and in bad repair, seemingly the work of the last days of the Lower Empire. The great gate (called Babi Hoomayoon) is as simple and ugly an archway as ever was seen; a row of plain windows runs along above it, and below, there is, on each side of the doorway, a niche in the wall, where the heads of criminals are exposed. One of the times I saw it, one niche was heaped with Arab heads from near Bagdad, the owners of which had been plundering the country. They were only the skins stuffed with straw, and looked more like goatskin bags with the hair on, or shaggy holster caps, than human heads.'

'*July* 18.—I went to-day with Colonel Byam and Gordon to see the Grand Signor go to the mosque. We had a delightful row up the Bosphorus to a considerable distance above the summer palace, and were posted close to the steps of the small mosque to which he went. The Grand Signor passed close to us going and returning, and we had as good a view as we could have had during an audience. He is rather a short man, not the least like his pictures, with a cheerful, animated, and intelligent face, neither very handsome nor very dignified, and not in the least stern. There was none of that fixed stare in front of him, and of that affected solemnity of manner which I expected. He moved downstairs in an unaffected

manner, and though he generally looked before him, as is natural, he turned his eyes to look at us as he passed, and presently the Bostangee Bâshee sent a man to ask who we were.

‘In descending the steps the Sultan saluted the people present by touching his mouth and forehead in the usual way. The people did the same to him, but bowed very lowly at the same time. The troops presented arms when he left his palace, and remained at the rest till he entered the mosque. We had a near view of the dresses of his attendants, which were all white this time, except those of the Bostangees. The caps of the Peiks would be very elegant but for the enormous size of their plume, which weighs their head down on one side, and obliges them to carry their caps in their hands till just before the Grand Signor appears.’

On July 2 Mr. Elphinstone started for the Dardanelles in a passenger vessel, crowded with a motley cargo of diverse nationalities, and paid a second visit to the plain of Troy; and after three days’ wandering and speculations concerning the localities named in the ‘*Iliad*,’ the Grecian camp, the *throsmos*, and the rivers, he started again for Syra, where he passed some days in the Lazaretto. He now engaged a ship for two months for Greece, and sailed for Athens. While at Syra he was more occupied with the Trojan war than with modern events. The only note he makes of his first impressions of Greece is that it does not correspond with the descriptions of it in the ‘*Odyssey*.’ ‘*Eumæus*,’ he says, ‘does more than justice to his country when he calls it—

*Εὖβοτος, εὖμηλος, οἶνοπληθής, πολύπυρος.*²

It does not now deserve any one of these epithets, least of all the first and fourth.’

When Mr. Elphinstone arrived in Greece there was a lull in the war. After the successes of Ibrahim Pacha in the Morea, and the fall of Missolonghi and of Athens, the cause of the Greeks was at the lowest ebb. Their armies were de-

² Rich in cattle, rich in sheep, abounding in wine, rich in corn.

moralised, and unable to take the field or undertake any enterprise. From the fate that seemed imminent they were saved by the interference of the great Powers in the beginning of 1827. The battle of Navarino was fought in October 1827, and Russia declared war in the following April. The leaders of the Greeks were unable to take advantage of the opportunity which now offered. They maintained a blockade of the Piræus, and invested Athens on one side; but their forces were inactive, and waited for the interposition of the great Powers. This soon followed. A new protocol was signed, under which a French force landed on the Morea, and forced Ibrahim to sign a convention for its evacuation. This took place on September 7, while Mr. Elphinstone was in the Morea, and the evacuation was completed on October 5 following.

ATHENS.

‘August 3.—When I rose we were close to Sunium, which I found different from what I imagined. The columns are very conspicuous, and stand on a high craggy hill, behind which a ridge of still higher hills broken into many peaks runs into the interior. The columns, however, are black, from the sun being behind them; at other times their brilliant whiteness is one of their great peculiarities.

‘From this, besides the coast of Attica, we saw the island of Macronisi (anciently Helena), and, over the interval between that and Attica the high mountains of Eubœa; on our left was the island of Belbina, now called St. George; more to the front was Hydra, distant, and Argolis nearer at hand; Zea and Thermia were behind us, Salamis came in view, and a mountain in Peloponnesus became conspicuous which seemed to be covered with snow.³ It bore north-east by east from the island of Gadari Nesi (anciently island of Patroclus), where we then were, and probably was Mount Sophikos, the ancient Arachnæa. To the left of it, much nearer, was Poros, anciently Calauria, where Demosthenes took poison.

³ It was not so, for it was the hill of Poros, August 5.

‘The distant view of Sunium was still finer than the near. The columns were still conspicuous. They and the mountain they stood on were in deep shade, while Macronisi behind and over them was a bluish grey. The wind had now fallen so much that we were almost becalmed, and some hours passed before we got round the point that shut out Sunium. We then floated on the Saronic Gulf, and enjoyed the contemplation of the scenes by which we were surrounded. A long succession of interesting localities has in some measure deadened the sensibility which I at first had for classical situations; but here there was scarcely an object that did not recall associations equal to all that I had experienced before, from Ajax, Theseus, and Hercules, to Themistocles, Socrates, and Demosthenes, even down to Horace, and Virgil, and Cicero. Everything that is interesting in ancient times came crowding on one’s mind. These feelings were still more heightened in the evening, when, on being asked to look through the telescope at some buildings ten or twelve miles off, I was electrified with the sight of the Parthenon. It was quite unexpected, for some time before it happened we were boarded by a Greek sloop of war, and told that we could not go to Athens unless we first went to Poros, where the president Capo d’Istria now is, to obtain his permission.⁴ We reluctantly obeyed, and had given up all thoughts of seeing Athens, when it was thus unexpectedly presented to our view. The columns of the Parthenon, the shading of the Hill of the Acropolis, some other buildings close at hand, and the monument of Philoppapus at some distance on the left, were quite distinctly seen. The Greek sloop was small, full of men who did not look very smart, and seemingly carried no cannon. Though the repulse from Athens was a great disappointment, there is so much pleasure in transitions from one interesting object to another, that I rather felt in spirits with the thoughts of seeing Capo d’Istria and Mauro Cordato, and as my quarantine will

⁴ Poros was at this time the seat of government, to the head of which Count Capo d’Istria was elected in June 1827. The centre of the insurrection, as of the government, was shifted from time to time, and assemblies were held at Argos and Træzene, besides Poros.

now be out, I am half tempted to go on to the Morea. My fellow-travellers have already resolved to do so, but I have doubts of the wisdom of allowing so long a period to elapse before attempting Athens as would be required to enable me to visit the Morea and the Islands before forfeiting my quarantine. We were near the island of Falkudi (ancient Phænoa) when we were stopped by the Greek cruiser. That was about 1 P.M., and we are now at 3.30 running past the south of Egina on our way to Poros. I am getting so used to Egina and other barbarisms that I shall never recover the little knowledge of quantity which my early Scotch education had allowed me to acquire. I have just seen through a spy-glass, but very distinctly, the Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, on a mountain in Egina.

‘As we approached the mouth of the harbour of Poros we met and passed a Greek corvette and a Russian transport under sail.

‘*August 4.*—When I went to sleep we were tacking to enter the narrow inlet between Poros and the mainland; when I rose at four we had passed it and were at anchor in the harbour. This is a beautiful and sheltered harbour, about four miles long and not half as broad, surrounded by woody hills (or rather mountains) on the Peloponnesian side. The upper or east end is closed by a low hill, which looks like a separate island, but is a peninsula from Poros. There is a narrow channel between it and the Morea. On the peninsula stands the town, a small one of white houses, with tiled roofs stuck up against the rocky sides of the hill, and in very open order. Near the town on the Morea side are gardens on the little plain under the hills, and there is cultivation all along that side, but none on that of Poros. Over the west end of the harbour is seen the high, bold, bare grey mountain which I yesterday thought at a distance was covered with snow, and to north-west is the lower mountain of Methanæ, on a peninsula to the west of Poros. The whole harbour, especially looking west, is beautiful. There were three Russian men-of-war, one of two decks, far out, and two French near the town, besides a steamboat and many

Greek ships of war near the town. They look old and worn out. We went ashore after breakfast, and got there by 7.30. We were detained by the Sanità, and had a good opportunity of observing the numerous Greeks on the shore. The military were dressed in the white Albanian dress described at Syra. The others wore a waistcoat of broadcloth, with silk buttons and loops, under which sometimes appeared the white sleeves of the shirt, and sometimes those of a close jacket buttoned round the body, and generally of a different colour from the waistcoat, wide dark trousers, or rather breeches, a sash, and a red fess complete the dress. This last (the fess) is worn by all, even by Frenchmen in the Greek service, who are otherwise dressed in the European way. These Greeks are dark complexioned, and neither good-looking, nor stout, nor well set up: some had a short shaggy white cloak, I suppose the Albanian capote. After a good deal of examination of papers, &c., we were told that Capo d'Istria's brother would see us, and settle everything; and were soon after shown up to a poor but clean Greek house, where he received us with great civility. Our fate was soon settled; he told our spokesman (Colonel Byam) that we could not be permitted to go to Athens at present; and on my urging that we had neither military stores, nor provisions, nor anything that should exclude us, he said that if we could be permitted he would not advise our going on any account. He insinuated that the place would soon be reduced, and said that a French vessel had been fired on by the Castle, and compelled to return the fire, and that in consequence no Frank would be safe there. When Colonel Byam asked if it was blockaded on the land side, he said he did not exactly know; from which I inferred that matters are in progress. With respect to the Morea he advised delay for a fortnight at the least, as the plague was still raging, and the heat so great. We afterwards learned also that if we visited any place but Napoli, Argos, and Egina, we should have to perform forty days' quarantine on our return. This does not so much affect my fellow-travellers, whose course after the Morea is out of quarantine countries, but it would be fatal to me. I therefore determined (as I probably should have done

even if excluded from Athens alone) to see the Islands and then go to Corfu, from whence I can return, in cooler weather and more favourable circumstances, about the beginning or middle of October. I may fill up the interval by visiting Ithaca and the other Islands. I shall see Egina and Salamis now. I am somewhat depressed by seeing the great object of my journey thrown into such a distance, but I shall see them to greater advantage, after all, than if I visited them in this period of heat and sickness, disturbed and hurried by military and political events.

‘In the evening we started for the Temple of Neptune, but some doubt of our guardian’s prevented our executing our design. We were obliged to go to the Sanità (‘*Τυγείόμενον*’, as it is written up upon a white board), and afterwards took a walk across the isthmus that joins the town and the island.

‘*August 5.*—Set out with a guardian as usual, and walked up a hill near our anchorage. The haze prevented my seeing Athens or Attica, but it rendered the mountains and islands which I did see particularly soft and beautiful. Close below me was Trœzene, the country of Theseus, and before me Egina, the kingdom of Æacus and Peleus, and the scene of the plague and metamorphosis of the Myrmidons.’

While waiting for the expiration of their quarantine they visited some ruins in the neighbourhood, supposed to be a temple of Poseidon, and the scene of the death of Demosthenes. Some steps were supposed by a former traveller to have been the very bench where the orator was sitting when Archias came to him. The remains of an ancient inscription confirmed Mr. Elphinstone in the belief that these ruins were the site of the ancient temple.

‘We had,’ he says, ‘a beautiful sunset over the smooth sea and bold capes. As I looked down to the north, where there is an inlet, probably the old port, I could imagine the appearance of Archias and his soldiers, and the anxiety and despair of Demosthenes.’

The following day, on visiting the Sanità, they were declared free men (*ἐλεύθεροι*), and they made use of their liberty to

visit the ruins of Trœzene and Megara, but there seemed very little hope of their reaching Athens. Some gentlemen in the Greek service 'agreed that there was no hope of admission to Athens from this quarter, even if the Greeks permitted it. They seemed to think the Turks would fire on a boat if it attempted to approach. They, however, thought we might get round by the Negropont by applying to Omar Pacha.'

From Egina they cast a despairing glance at Athens, but were somewhat reassured on visiting the secretary to the President Capo d'Istria, who undertook to give them an order at once to pass the Greek lines, but recommended them to consult Captain Copeland, of the 'Mastiff,' who was engaged on the survey of the Archipelago, and had lately been at Athens, and could advise them as to the probability of the Turks admitting them.

'He said that Ibrahim Pacha was not likely to evacuate the Morea, being afraid that if he did so he would be sent against the Russians. He added that no attack could be made on Athens for want of ordnance, and no field action given for want of cavalry. He also said that the appearance of Ibrahim Pacha with his regulars, and his new mode of war, gave a complete turn to the struggle, and must have ended in the total ruin of the Greeks. He believed that we had been recommended to the president, and advised me to call, and wrote to announce our intention.

'*August 11.*— . . . A note on the back of his soon came back to say that the President would be happy to see us, and there we went, I in boots and the other two gentlemen in red leather shoes. We found the Count in a neat, clean house, in a room not large, very plainly furnished, and opening on his bedroom. He was rather a small man, dark, with almost white hair, black eyebrows, with piercing black eyes, with which, while he talked to me, he threw side glances at the others. He received us quite as a private gentleman, and waited on us to the door when we went away. He told me that Sir Frederick Adam had begged him to show me attention, but that he was in a country where none could be shown. If, however, I could point out

anything he could do, he would be most happy. He then talked of the news, and said there had been a defeat at Shumla, but that the Fort, which was strong, still held out. That there was a report Sir Edward Codrington was returning,⁵ accompanied by Egyptian vessels, to remove Ibrahim's army. This, he said, though by no means the end of these ills, would be *una disgrazia di meno*. He said he had just made a long tour of the Peloponnesus, and said the sight would shock us. The country was quite deserted. "They talk," he said, "of regenerating Greece; but who is there to regenerate?" He then talked, prudently enough, of advancing money for cattle and seed, to be repaid in two years; and also of similar advances for roads, schools, &c. He talked of the injudicious means sometimes taken of assisting them; an American philanthropic society had sent a very expensive cargo of clothes, which nobody wanted, instead of money, cattle, and seed. He spoke of the many antiquities underground about this place, and said so many holes had been dug that he had been obliged to put a stop to disturbing the dead that he might secure the safety of the living. He spoke of searching for antiquities hereafter, keeping some, and exchanging others for specimens of the fine arts not found in Greece; but at present, he said, they were poor, and must live. He added something of the demoralised state of his people, and the necessity of education. He spoke Italian rather quick and thick, and held forth in a sort of set speech, which made me think at first it was a discourse he was in the habit of holding to foreigners, wishing his opinion to be known. He had no guard and few attendants.

'We now went to Captain Copeland, who said he had been fired on sharply at first at the Piræus, and was obliged to procure from Ypsilante a volunteer Greek soldier to accompany an officer of his to the Bey. Both the Greek and Englishman were very civilly received; Captain Copeland was invited up, as was Mrs. C., and they were treated with more than Turkish

⁵ Sir E Codrington concluded a convention at Alexandria for the evacuation of the Morea. It was not carried out, and a French force was sent to the Morea in the following month.

hospitality. He said if we went in a private ship we should certainly not be able to have any communication, but would be fired on as enemies; and he most kindly offered to take us up with him next day. This being arranged, we procured letters to the Greek authorities, and some other difficulties were removed by the good nature of Mr. Trecoupis, and to-morrow morning we join Captain Copeland at Epidaurus, and go on immediately to Athens. In the evening we were surprised by a visit from Colonel Fabvier,⁶ who came to call on Colonel Byam. I was afterwards introduced to him, and found him very communicative. He praised the Greek soldiers highly, said they were excellent materials for discipline: he particularly dwelt on their steadiness in trusting to the bayonet, and not wasting ammunition, even when they had plenty. He said they absolutely required that their officers should share their hardships as well as dangers; but said the privations they could submit to, and had submitted to, were incredible.

‘The chiefs he spoke very ill of. He said their only thought in driving out the Turks was to step into their place. He said they were the great opponents of regular discipline, as they profited by the present system of disorder. He said none of them had shown any talents except Odysseus, who had a head although *molto furbo*. Even if any chief had possessed talent, the jealousy of the others would have prevented his gaining an ascendancy.

‘No Greek could bear the rule of another, although he would submit to a Frank. On my asking if Colocotroni had no influence over some of the Greeks, he treated him with contempt. He seemed discontented with the present Government.

‘He spoke a great deal against the present suspension of operations, and trusting to the allied Powers; and said he

⁶ Colonel Fabvier distinguished himself during the siege of Athens. He threw himself into the Necropolis, and held it with a small force. The attempts to relieve him having failed, he was obliged to evacuate his position. Finlay, in his History of the Greek Revolution, says he took the flints out of the soldiers’ muskets to ensure their steadiness during the attack. This is inconsistent with what he told Mr. Elphinstone.

always told the Greeks that they should trust to no king but the King above, that the Dutch, the Swiss, the Americans, and the Spanish colonists had succeeded by doing so, while those who put their trust in princes invariably failed. He afterwards spoke of the proposed arrangement of the allies as very unsatisfactory to the Greeks. If they had got as far even as Thessaly they would be a people, though a small one; but with the Morea alone they would be nothing: and besides that, there were upwards of 200,000 exiles from Roumelia (the most considerable of the people) who could never hope to return. In conversation with Colonel Byam afterwards, he said the Greeks, though good soldiers, required indulgence for their irregular character, as they would not always come out of good cover when they were in it, or remain in fire when good cover was at hand. The Turks, he said, were not to be despised, and would cost the Russians probably many men: though they would do nothing in the plain, yet in passes and similar situations, where they could shelter themselves behind a bush or a stone, they were formidable shots. In a village, also, they only thought how to kill most of the infidels, and not of their own escape. Their cavalry, also, he said were excellent; they would hover about to watch an opportunity till some old Pacha would be seen to give the word; then they would make a furious charge, with their heads down, and would do this thrice; but after that, from some superstition, they would not charge again, and you might do what you liked in perfect security from them. Fabvier is a tallish man, with reddish hair, a broad forehead, round nose, and flattish features; not the least like a Frenchman in appearance, but very lively and conversable. He seemed to speak Greek very fluently to his servant Theramenes, but said he did not speak it well: with him was a quiet young Swede. I learned from him, among other things, that the Greeks of Attica, either from despair of the success of their countrymen or some other cause, are quite Turks at heart, and act against the Greeks on any attempts on their country. We heard in different ways that Capo d'Istria, instead of all the severities talked of in Turkey, has never put one person to

death, though he has imprisoned many pirates, to make them refund the plunder taken from neutrals. This and his promotion of Ionian Islanders, together with his introduction of order and regularity, seem to be the causes of his unpopularity with some classes.

‘By evening we reached Salamis, passed between the island of Psytalia and the main, and anchored exactly in the space between the two fleets, as laid down in Barbie de Bocage’s plan of the battle. The whole afternoon our eyes were either fixed on Athens or wandering over the shores of Salamis.

‘*August 13.*—At daybreak I examined the coast and channel, and found Barbie de Bocage perfectly correct. I thought over the description of Herodotus and Æschylus, and fancied at that very hour the trumpet and pæan of the Greeks, the surprise of the Persians, the clash of the first onset, the confusion and destruction which followed, down to the massacre of the land troops on Psytalia by Aristides. We sailed in the course of the forenoon past the mouth of the harbour of the Piræus, the narrow entrance to which (rendered more so by a pier on each side) was very observable. We went round the promontory of Munychia, on which stood the town of Piræus, and anchored in the road of Phalerus, near enough to the hill to see the ancient walls. There was a detachment in tents on the top of the hill, to the commander of which Captain Copeland sent a message to request he would announce our arrival and our wishes to the chief at Athens. This was done, and the commander and two other Albanian officers came on board. They were very different from Turks, lively and inquisitive, without gravity or dignity. Two of them drank rum and brandy without hesitation. The other was a khojeh (a word for persons who affect correctness), who, though he did not drink, joked, and entered into the spirit. The commander took off his fess and put on my hat, and they all searched Captain Copeland’s drawers, &c., with all the real childishness, but with none of the seeming indifference of a Turk. They were handsome fellows, and, from the Greeks wearing their dress, looked more like Greeks than

Turks. In the evening, about three horses came for us, and accompanied by a party of twelve or fifteen Delli Bashes. These wear the same fantastic cap as elsewhere, with a turban round the bottom, and are coarsely-dressed and wilder looking than any I have seen. They were also but indifferently mounted. They are, nevertheless, most excellent soldiers; almost every man has several rounds, and they keep up their reputation by dashing at any number of Greeks without the least hesitation. The way they broke through and trampled down the Greek army under General Church⁷ reminds one of the Norman knights, and the half-armed peasantry of their days. They were good-humoured, inoffensive fellows, who put up with a little hardship and neglect, that they were eventually exposed to, without grumbling. Our ride was first over a plain, green and grassy even at this season, and then through olive woods, the present neglected state of which takes from their formality. Before us was the Acropolis, and around were Hymettus and other mountains. The scene, wherever situated, would have been highly picturesque, and it inspired a soft and peaceful feeling, that recalled the meditations of Socrates and Plato, rather than the exploits of Miltiades and Themistocles. As we approached the city every object brought the recollection of some illustrious person or memorable event, from the romantic tales in Plutarch which delighted our childhood, to the poets, orators, and historians which are the admiration of all times. Nothing can be conceived more majestic than the Parthenon, seated on the scarp of the rock of the Acropolis, and relieved by the Hill of Anchesmus,⁸ which rises a steep and craggy peak behind it. I did not know that our road was to lead near the Temple of Theseus, and, occupied with other sights, I had forgotten that there was such an object, when, on coming over the brow of the hill, it appeared suddenly before us, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. I never was so struck by any sight. The temple seemed as perfect as if it had just been finished, and appeared to me the most noble and magnificent I had ever seen. I was sur-

⁷ On his attempt to relieve Athens in May 1827.

⁸ This, I believe, is now found to be the Hill of Lycaballus.

prised on a near approach to see the small size of the building which had produced so great an effect, and on a closer examination the architecture appeared to me rather heavy. This, however, was only when I first came near it, for when I saw it again next day I was perfectly satisfied with the proportions. Close to the Temple of Theseus we entered the walls of what was the modern city, and were conducted to the house of the commanding officer of the Dellis, close to the line of Corinthian building thought by Stuart to be the Stoa Poikile, but now known to be the Pantheon of Adrian. Though blackened with smoke, it is still in high preservation, and is rather a striking edifice.

‘The commanding officer received us very civilly, and several officers of the regulars who were with him asked us many questions about news, but without touching on topics that might be impertinent. From this town we went to that of the Selihdar Agha, who is Bey of Athens, and were received by his nephew. We told him our wishes. He promised us a house, and leave to stay at Athens till the Pacha of Negropont could be consulted. We waited a good while for horses, during which we saw the famous Doric portico. . . .

‘The whole city presents a most melancholy spectacle. The walls of the houses, and some few of the public buildings and of the finest private houses are standing, so that one can see how fine a town it has been: but everything now is in total ruins; not a roof or a door to one house in a hundred, and scarce any inhabitants but the garrison of regular troops. At length we got our horses and rode to the shore, and were on board by half-past nine, when our thoughts were more with the ancients than with the Turks, and the quiet of the night left scope for the imagination.’

On the following day they visited the temples of Theseus, Jupiter Olympius, and many other interesting spots, including the Ilyssus. The Ilyssus, ‘deserted stream and mute,’ flows on in a divided current, only shown by the grass on its banks. They were constantly reminded of the still pending contest—gates built up, the remains of a battery close to the temple of Jupiter Olympius, parts of the wall strengthened with palisades,

and marks of shot on some of the ancient buildings. Several days were passed among these deserted ruins, and they remained throughout on friendly terms with the Turks, receiving frequent visits from the officers of the garrison. On August 17 he writes: 'We had a Turkish dinner given by the Hakeem Básh at our house. The Selihdar's nephew and an Albanian captain named Lolio dined with us. The captain was a Christian, and considered himself a Greek; he was an hereditary captain in his own part of the country, and fought long and unsuccessfully against the Turks; but Capo d'Istria came and tried to introduce Frank regulations, unknown to the people; he fled to the Turks, and now fought with regret against his own countrymen. This is his own account, but Giorgio says he was a mere hill thief (klept), though an hereditary captain, and the regulation of Capo d'Istria which gave him offence was one for taking an account of the public money embezzled by individuals. The captain was rather a fine-looking fellow, with a jacket of broad gold and silver lace, so disposed as to look exactly like armour. Our conversation first turned on the Greek war, but the doctor having contrived to make it in some way personal to Captain Lolio, the Selihdar's nephew changed the subject, saying we had better drop the past and think of the future. We then tried other topics less offensive, though of the same nature; and it was not till we got to the neutral topics of English pistols and Khorassan swords that the conversation went on smoothly.

'At night the Hakeem Básh gave us an exhibition of Kara Gúz, which has been incorrectly called the Turkish "Punch." The representation is a sort of *ombres chinoises*, very ill executed, the showman being as visible as his figures. The action is so gross and so dull, that it requires to have seen it to believe that such a thing exists as this entertainment, which Turks of the highest rank are amused with, and allow to be exhibited before their wives and children.

'August 20.—In the morning we were summoned to see the Dellis exercise. There were about fifty, divided into two parties. Their first manœuvre was the advance of one party

and retreat of the other in line at speed. Then each party followed their captain, who rode about at speed, each man keeping pretty close to the one in front of him.

‘By this feat they describe such winding figures as Virgil represents the young Trojans performing on horseback. The two parties then drew up opposite, and individually dashed out and threw the jereed at each other. They threw them far (perhaps thirty or forty yards) and strong, but did not hit often, and showed none of the tricks in avoiding or catching them that the Persians make use of. Their jereeds were generally common sticks. They were rather good riders, some of them very good; their horses small and not remarkably active, but well managed. We then went to drink coffee with the Delli Bash, who showed himself an excellent fellow as usual. After this I walked out to the east of Mount Anchesmus.

‘The forenoon has gone in negotiations about the Acropolis, in which the Hakeem Básh has taken a great deal of trouble. About four in the afternoon we started for the Piræus, on horses procured for us by the Básh Delli; we soon entered the olive wood, where the scenery was finer than one could have expected in such a place; the ground was covered with long grass and vines, and both produced different shades of verdure. There were large openings in the wood, and the distant parts were much varied, some trees being withered, and some either dead or out of leaf. The Acropolis and the monument of Philopappus were seen on the side we had left; the Attic mountains on all sides except the west, where, when we had an opening, we saw the sea and the mountains of Peloponnesus. We passed a barrow, which, if not too distant from the town, might be the cenotaph of Euripides. We arrived at the bottom of the port of the Piræus, and coasted it to the left, going up the hill on which the city stood. Near the sea are many blocks of stone and other remains; over the hill are many quarries and mounds of rubbish. Among these on the left of the bay to one facing seaward, and inside the harbour, was a square foundation of large stones, which might be the tomb of Themistocles. There is a rough and ruinous-looking pile, exactly like that de-

scribed by Gell, outside on the left of the entrance; but Captain Copeland said it was put up by some ship as a landmark, in which he may be right. On our way home we saw the foundations of the northern long wall distinctly, and rode along them till within a mile or a mile and a half of Athens.

‘Neither on this nor any other of the few occasions when I have been out of Athens after dark have I heard anything of the nightingale, which here, according to Milton, “trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long.” The gates were shut before we got home, but our Delli soon got them opened.

‘*August 21.*—I was confined at home by the effect of illness till late, but rambled among the ruined houses, which I often do, in the hope, hitherto vain, of meeting with antiquities thrown open by the destruction of the town.⁹ In the course of the forenoon we sent presents to different persons, and I read travels and Mitford as usual, with some of my Greek extracts. In the evening I went out alone to walk. I went out by my often-admired Temple of Theseus, and then down toward the site of the Academy. I passed the ground of the Cerameicus, with many thoughts of Thrasybulus, Pericles, and others, τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων, over whom the last of these heroes made his funeral oration on this spot. The ground of the Academy is uncertain, but I have visited both those fixed on by Barbie de Bocage and Gell. This evening I got into the olive wood to the west of Colonus, where I had a very pleasant stroll, and came on some gardens with fig and other trees. I came out close to the smaller hill of Colonus, and was home just in time to prevent being shut out. I never had a more delightful walk. The air was cool and beautifully clear, and the whole scene quite Athenian. In going out I often stopped to look back on the Temple of Theseus and the Parthenon, as the evening sun shone full on them, and on the hills and ruins around them. As I returned I enjoyed the effects of sunset on the mountains. Parnes was darkened by his woods; Hymettus glowed with a rich purple; and the varied hills of the Peloponnesus showed

⁹ All I see are architectural fragments, and masses both of white and Cipoline marble. These are all in wonderful abundance.

every shade and tint of blue, purple, and violet. There was a richness and softness in the landscape quite indescribable. I have been ill ever since I have been at Athens, as are all the party. We had at first most unfavourable weather, and we are still unfavourably situated, ill lodged, and much worse fed; yet there is no place I have seen in my travels that I have enjoyed so much or shall remember with so much pleasure.'

The negotiations for permission to visit the Acropolis ended in nothing. The replies were generally evasive. They were desired to communicate direct with the Pacha of the Negropont, and when they made a request to visit Marathon they received the same answer, and were told that if they went to Euripo they would obtain permission to go anywhere. One morning it was hinted by the Selihdar's nephew that a present to his uncle might expedite matters.

There seems reason to suppose that military jealousy was the source of the difficulty. The Acropolis was the scene of the late struggle, and it was not unnatural to exclude them from a spot which might be again attacked. On one occasion, while walking in that direction, they were stopped by the troops. In the meanwhile the utmost liberty was allowed to ride or walk in the direction of the Greek outposts, in the direction of Eleusis, and Mr. Elphinstone availed himself of this to take several strolls, and even rides in the neighbourhood. On August 23 he writes:—

'In the evening I walked out on the road to Eleusis; I observed the ruins of the gate (either Dipylon or Sacred) in the walls of the chapel of Panagia Trioda, also the remains of a tomb to the right, further on, as noticed by Gell; but he does not notice the tumuli between the chapel and the corner of the northern wall. There are beautiful views from the windows of the waiwode's house. I went on with Gell in my hand, saw the remains of the Sacred Way, and passed the church of Agee Saba on the site of the house of Phytalus, where Ceres taught him the art of cultivating the fig. I got to the first branch of the Cephissus, a small clear running stream; but fearing the gates would be shut, I turned, much against my will, and was not

much too early to prevent being shut out. The walks through this forest of olives are uncommonly pleasant, and derive an additional interest from the connection of the tree with Athens and its patroness. The views of the Parthenon, which never fail to please, were particularly delightful through the opening in the wood—once in particular, when the temple was seen over the tops of some trees, and shut in on each side with the branches of others, the western sun shining full on the building, and on what was seen of the rock.'

Several more days were wasted on these negotiations; the Selihdar received his present (a clock), tantalised the travellers with the hope of seeing the Acropolis, and ended on each occasion with referring them to the Pacha at Euripo. Mr. Elphinstone at length gave up in disgust that which he describes as the principal object of his journey. The annoyance arising from being so treated, and want of confidence in the Turks, led the party to give up attempting to visit Thermopylæ and Delphi, and having rejoined their vessel, they weighed anchor and returned within the Greek lines at Ambelaki.

'*August 27.*—We set out about six to walk to Coolonee. There are a few trees about Ambelaki, but nothing else of the sort, I think, between that and Coolonee. The last place is a good large village, but like all Greek villages most unpleasantly dirty. It stands on a very fine harbour, but has no marks of having been the situation of an ancient town. It was a saint's day, and whether from that reason, or whether it is usual on all days, we found the bazaar (a number of sheds of pine branches) crowded with people. I, however, saw nothing for sale but bread and water-melons. The people in the bazaar and everywhere else were chiefly soldiery in the Albanian dress. Many of them had jackets covered with broad lace, and good arms; but all had a trifling, unmilitary look, and many added to this a good deal of the look of a rogue. The Turkish Nizam, indeed, were awkward and ungainly-looking fellows, short and clumsy, but stout and manly. The Albanians have the wild and bold air of mountaineers. The Greeks, who resemble these last in dress, look as if they had put it on for a masquerade, and had nothing

to do with it, or with anything which implied either courage or reflection. We went to the head of the custom-house, and learned that the quarantine from the Morea, Eleusis, &c., was reduced from forty days to seven. The people were very civil, and with all my partiality to the Turks it is certainly a comfort to find oneself in a Christian country, free from the apprehension of insult or obstruction, which, though it seldom or never happens, is frequently expected. As I have now done with the Turks for ever, I must mention how they appeared to me. Their great fault is their pride, which disgusts one the more because it is religious rather than national. Allowance being made for that, they are very courteous, hospitable, and obliging. They have through all ranks great self-respect, and are far above most of the sorts of meanness practised by other Asiatics. With the exception of those at Athens, I have always found them very direct and open, and have always felt much more confidence in them than in the Christians of the country. They are, however, capricious and obstinate, and apt to be violent, but oftener sullen when opposed. They are ignorant and credulous beyond belief, and will listen to any story that flatters their vanity or falls in with their prejudices. They may seem now to be sensible of the superiority of Europeans in all sorts of knowledge except religious, and most of them seem to see the necessity of some sort of imitation of our system; but none seem prepared for the sacrifice rendered necessary by such a change; and the consequence is almost universal discontent with the present Government, and a total indifference to the success of its measures, foreign or domestic. So far is the result of my own observation. From what one hears, the Turks are remarkable for dissimulation, carried to such a pitch as to make a pacha show the greatest kindness to a person withdrawing, when an order has been given to behead him as soon as he passes the door. They are represented as cruel and revengeful, but, in return for the last vice, they are said to be grateful. These, with honesty in money matters, and bigotry and dislike to people of other religions, are the qualities of which I have heard most. I should not, however, forget their childishness and trifling amusements,

so inconsistent with their grave manners, nor their habitual indolence and procrastination, so unlike the energy which they display on some occasions.'

From Athens Mr. Elphinstone passed on to the Morea, and after exploring the remains of Mycenæ, Argos, and Sparta, he went to the French camp on the banks of the Messenian Gulf. Being somewhat reassured as to the state of affairs, he again traversed the Morea, paying a visit to Colocotrini at Karitena, and returned to the plain of Argos. He then took ship for Syra, where he engaged a caique, and passed a week among the Cyclades. There could be no greater evidence of the enthusiasm with which he engaged in this tour than the frequency with which he is found at sea, for few persons suffered more from sea-sickness. On his return to the mainland he passed through Arcadia, visited Olympia, and then went to Ithaka and Corfu, where he received a warm welcome from his cousin Sir Frederick Adam. Before he started on this tour he visited the remains of Eleusis. Here he found the Greek force that invested Athens to the west. I quote his account of its condition; the vessel had just passed Salamis. 'As we advanced, the sacred gap opened upon us, and we could see the upper part of the white monastery of Daphne, which appeared in ruins. I believe it is the frontier post of the Turks in this direction. It is within a mile of my late walks at Athens. It seems strange to be so near our old friends and among their enemies; and I wonder the Greeks are allowed to remain at Eleusis, from which a very small force would easily dislodge them.

'The ruins of the old village and its churches are mixed up with the tents of the troops, and here is a little shed of pine branches for a bazaar. There is no house or decent hovel, even for the Generals, who are Gregiotis and Vasso. The troops, as usual, are dressed like Albanians; they are called 2,000, but seem 300 or 400. One officer of Ypsilante's staff was here. The generals were absent; there seemed nothing like regularity, no sentinels nor pickets; and the men, though the enemy are so near, straggle over the plains, firing whenever it strikes their fancy.'

‘August 28.—After an appearance of difficulty we got horses; Colonel Byam and Mr. France started at seven, and I am now starting at eleven. I am now quite alone, which I believe is the true way to enjoy travelling in a country where so much depends on a proper disposition for feeling its charms. “Greece is no lightsome land of social mirth.” I set off a quarter before twelve, observed the site of Procrustes’ Cave, but did not see it, and was more lucky with the well called Anthios, where Ceres rested; but I looked in vain for the tumulus of the Argive heroes who fell at Thebes. A long way further on I had a near view of the monastery of Phanaroneme. I believe it is the great hospital and magazine for the troops of Megara. There were some troops in pine-branch sheds on the side of the ferry, and many others in the same sort of quarters up and down the plain. I fancy the whole army is thus disposed of. I first saw Megara, or rather Nisæa, over a perfectly flat malaria-looking plain, with salt-works on the left, near the sea. At the same place I saw a white wall, erected by the Greeks to cut off a peninsula, as a place of refuge (for their baggage, I suppose). I had by this time left the immediate shore of the sea, and soon got to Megara, which is about one or two miles inland. During the last hour or two of the march, after descending from Kerata I had Cithæron on my right, with a narrow plain and olive wood between it and the sea. It is a fine mountain, diversified with woods, vales, and crags. Megara stands on a hill, which it covers, and makes a very handsome show in the midst of a rich and extensive plain, with many olive trees inland. The houses are now almost entirely in ruins, owing to the havoc of the Turks and the irregularities of the Greeks. There is a similar hill without houses close by, on the east. I found Mr. Byam and Mr. France here, stopped for want of horses; and after calling on Prince Ypsilante, I went to walk to Nisæa. The road is over a smooth plain. I ascended the hill, which is low though steep, and has modern fortifications on it. The view was fine, the hills over the Scironian Rocks were bold and precipitous, and there were some rugged islands which set off the opposite coast of the Peloponnesus. On my return I saw

another lovely sunset, the usual purple tints on all the hills, and a glow on the crags of Cithæron which it is impossible to describe. The sunsets in Greece far surpass everything I have ever seen, and come up to all I could fancy. I have seen much finer skies in India, but the colour shed on all objects by the setting sun is quite unequalled. In the evening Ypsilante sent to ask us to dinner. We found him as before on a divan, raised with juniper branches and covered with carpets. He was in a wretched house, and in the afternoon was surrounded by Grecian captains. In the evening he had his Chef d'Etat Major (Daniel), a little light-bearded Frenchman, Grelloise, a French surgeon, and two Greek aides-de-camp. French was the language, the Greek aide-de-camp only spoke Italian; and for the first time I felt real inconvenience from not knowing French. Ypsilante is a very small man, with a high nose and dark eyes, very bald, with a peculiarly shaped head, rising much behind. He has a melancholy, but intelligent, mild, and interesting countenance, and very pleasing manners, perfectly plain and unassuming. He was dressed in a dark jacket, with a lace strap on the shoulder; and his staff were—some bearded and some whiskered, the French in plain clothes, and the Greeks in their own costume.

‘He gave us a good plain dinner on some planks, put together like a door, round which we sat cross-legged. He talked of the barbarities of the Turks, and the perplexities of the allies, and said the only way to remove all difficulties was to declare Greece independent—“to make it a kingdom,” were his words. He said Ibrahim Pacha had still 25,000 men, having lost 10,000 in action. Rashid Pacha he described as paralysed by the fear of insurrections of the Albanians. He described the Morea as overrun by robbers, and still liable to incursions of Ibrahim’s troops. His own are reckoned 10,000, but better informed people said 7,000 or 8,000. They seem in bad discipline; Colonel Byam’s muleteer was robbed by a soldier in the middle of the camp. We were very civilly invited by a Greek pentecosiarch to take a share of a church where he was quartered, and which he in fact gave up to us.

Ypsilante's divan explains the bed of lentisks in Theocritus. This lentisk is Frawkes's translation of *σχοῖνος*, which the lexicons make 'bulrush;' but the Greeks call the lentisk "skeenee" still.

'August 29.—We learned from Prince Ypsilante that the road by the Scironian Rocks was now quite impassable; and as he said that over Mount Geranion by Derveni was dangerous, he was so good as to order us guards. Thinking I should not go so fast as my former companions, I got a separate guard of five men, and they of ten. My soldiers were good-humoured, obliging fellows; having occasion to call to them once, my soorajee (here called Agoiates) shouted out "Ellenes;" and I understand this is the only name by which they now desire to be called. Romaikos is quite out of fashion. I started at a quarter past six, and went at first for more than an hour along a valley between Mount Geranion and Mount Cithæron, the breadth of which is about three miles. When we began to ascend we got among olives and pines, with deep ravines on each side of us. Still higher was a fine view of the Saronic Gulf, and over Salamis to Athens. About nine we had ascended to near Derveni, a house two stories high, where there used to be a guard of Turks and a Khan. It is now in ruins. From this place we first got sight of the Gulf of Lepanto, which to me was interesting as joining the Adriatic, and opening a direct road to civilised Europe.'

He passed on by Corinth to Sicyon and Mycenæ, whose celebrated remains are described fully. On the Treasury of the latter place he remarks, 'There is an opening near the stone at the top which admits light enough to make the place quite visible, without diminishing its gloomy and mysterious character, which suits well with its vast antiquity, and with the history of the extraordinary race to whom its foundation is ascribed. Whether or not this was actually built by Atreus, whose barbarous character belongs to a period before the heroic age, it doubtless is a fabric of the most distant times, and yet from its magnitude and execution is worthy to be the Treasury Πολυχρυσόιο Μυκήνης.

‘*September 2.*—Went to Argos. Gell’s Monastery, stuck on the rock, is not striking after Mount Lebanon. I did not see the once oracular cave under it till my return from Napoli. I went up towards the Acropolis before entering the town, and halted at the gap between that fort and the hill of Phoroneus.

νῦν ἐκεῖν’ ἔξεστί σοι
παρόντι λείσσειν, ὅν πρόθυμος ἦσθ’ ἀεί.
τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν Ἄργος οὐπόθεις τόδε, &c.

‘This must certainly have been the spot selected for the opening scene of “Electra.” The places mentioned there, as they were to be seen at the same time, with the Temple of Juno, must have been on the side towards the upper course of the Inachus. That temple, if it stood where Gell has placed it, would be on the left of one looking towards Mycenæ, and would first come in sight at the gap to a person coming up from the present town, so that the description applies with the utmost accuracy to the place. Argos is to the heroic ages what Athens is to the later times of Greece; and, except Troy, and perhaps Thebes, there is not within the scene of Grecian history a spot that can compare with this in interest. I now went up to the citadel, first riding and then walking. There is no regular road. The hill is about 600 feet high, and is connected by a lower range with other hills. The walls are partly rough polygonal, partly polygonal but smoother, partly like Roman, and partly modern. I went round the bottom of the upper fort without seeing the inscription described by Sir W. Gell. It may be in the lower fort, or in the ancient walls now in ruins much lower down the hill. These are so far from the top as to make one doubt if they did not comprehend the town in the time of the Pelopidæ. Close to some of these is the theatre, of which nothing remains but the form, and some of the seats. It is very large, of the European half-circle shape, the seats cut in the rock, but the walls forming the two sides of brick, and much ruined. There are brick ruins near, seemingly Roman, but whether a bath, gymnasium, or what, I do not know that any one has determined. I now went to the modern town,

which has been put in good order. I was civilly received by the four Demogerontes and others whom I shall mention hereafter; and proceeded over the level plain to Tiryns. Tiryns stands on a small hill enclosed by cyclopean walls, which nearly reach from the bottom to a level with the top. They are of very large stones, smoothed towards the front of the wall, but otherwise quite irregularly shaped; parts are standing all round, often to the height of twenty feet, and in the tower at the end of forty-three, but many parts are quite in ruins. Near this tower there is a kind of a raised platform as if for an inner fort. I enjoyed the sight a good deal, independent of the curiosity of the structure. It is singular to walk where Hercules has often trod, and to stand on the identical walls from whence he hurled Iphitus.

‘*Napoli*.—I am in the Peloponnesus. Napoli is a very remarkable place. It stands on one side of a hill which forms a peninsula, and was well fortified by the Venetians, both at the foot, and towards the land, and on the ridge behind the town, which also overlooks a precipice. Where the peninsula joins the land is the fort of Palamedes, at the end of a range of hills: though not above 600 or 700 feet high, it is so steep towards Napoli as to be extremely striking. The ascent is by flights of stairs which look almost perpendicular and are roofed over. The shop I put up in was full of broken marble, turbans, and other proofs that the site had been a Mohammedan burying-ground. I had several Greek visitors in the evening. These visits are always well meant, and generally pleasant; but to one who has a journal to write they are sometimes ill-timed. What is more irksome is the constant presence of the host. When he or his son does not formally stand by out of civility, there is sure to be a boy or a woman with a child or two in a fixed position favourable for a close view of the strangers. The Mayor de Place at Napoli was a Smyrniote, a kind of Anastasius in his youth; but, the times being favourable for enterprise, he turned patriot instead of Turk, and has made a respectable man out of a disorderly lad. He was wounded and taken by Ibrahim Pasha, and remained for some time as his slave, but

the solicitations of a girl of good connections at Smyrna, to whom he was engaged, procured his liberation through the intervention of the French Admiral and of Colonel Sève (Soliman Agha). Several of the principal people are Ionians, or men who have been living in exile in the Seven Islands; and this before Capo d'Istria came into power. They seem more refined and more enlightened than the other Greeks. I find all of that nation very civil, much disposed to acknowledge the assistance of the allies, and by no means such braggarts as I had expected. The country people seem civil quiet men, though not equal to the Turkish peasantry. They are said to be thieves, to which, from the loss of little articles, I can testify, as well as to their love of music and noise of all kinds. I have not observed them cheat more than other people. I heard at Argos, and it was confirmed at Napoli, that a French force was landed in the Morea to assist the Greeks. Every day gives me new cause to be thankful for having been interrupted in my journey in Northern Greece.'

After exploring the remains of Sparta, Mr. Elphinstone proceeded to the Gulf of Messene, where the French camp was now established. Here he found himself among his countrymen. Some vessels of war lay off the coast, and Mr. (Sir Stratford) Canning had arrived in order to confer with Count Capo d'Istria on the situation. The English ambassador advised Mr. Elphinstone strongly not to go further eastward to Navarino until matters had been arranged with Ibrahim Pasha. No difficulty was anticipated on the part of the Turks unless they were pressed by the French force; and it was fortunate for the latter that the terms were easily arranged, as they had made no provision for a campaign. Their camp was little more than a bivouac; they had brought no tents, anticipating difficulty on the score of carriage. The harbours they had constructed were of boughs, which did not even shelter them against the sun. The rainy season had commenced, and fifty men fell sick after one rainy night, and an immense quantity of biscuit was spoilt.

As Mr. Canning was of opinion that he would incur less

risk by going north to Phigalia, and making his way back to the east coast, he arranged his plans accordingly.

The extracts from the journal which I now quote were written after his arrival at the French camp, and during his return journey through the heart of the Morea; they give his view of the political situation, and a visit to the celebrated Greek leader, Colocotroni, at Karitena on the Alpheus.

‘I must now mention what I have heard of the state of affairs here. The despatch of the French army was a measure of the present half ministry, adopted to meet the wish of the French nation. It does not seem to have been well timed. Ibrahim Pacha was about to evacuate the Morea, according to his father’s agreement with our admiral, and the arrival of the troops has rather delayed it. He had sent some troops on board, when he heard that the French had sent three regiments to Coron before the troops were gone; on which he disembarked them again, and it required much negotiation to get him back to the same point. The French military naturally wish for a rupture, as do the Russians, and I fancy the French ambassador is swayed by their wishes. Capo d’Istria wishes whatever the Russians wish. Our ambassador alone is most anxious for moderate measures. The different authorities are ill-agreed. The other day the Russian minister sent to Mr. Canning to say that he meant, when Capo d’Istria came, to hoist the Greek standard and salute it. Mr. Canning said “very well.” The Russian envoy then sent to General Guillemont to say that he and Mr. Canning had concerted that all were to salute the Greek standard. When the time came, the French and Russians did so, and there was much displeasure between the Russians and Mr. Canning; the one complaining of being disappointed after a promise, and the other of being misrepresented. The French General (Maison) also showed some marked inattention to Mr. Canning, who has cut him. The reply of the ambassadors to the Porte’s invitation has gone to the Porte with their ultimatum, and they now await the Porte’s decision. They are all to go to Poros to settle the frontier of Greece. A line from the Gulf of Zeitoon to the

Aspropotamos (Achelous) is spoken of on the one hand, and the Isthmus of Corinth on the other. A third plan, which seemed limited to Attica, is also in agitation. One is surprised to find things so far advanced, and so little settled, and is led to think the allies may fall out among themselves before they settle with the Porte. There seems to have been much fighting at Shoomla, where the Russians are still brought up. But Mr. Canning thinks, if they break down that barrier, there is nothing more to stop them.'

A GRECIAN STRONGHOLD.

'At 1.40 I crossed the Surteena and there quitted the *ὄρεα μακρὰ Λυκαίου*, which are more worthy of Pan than Mænalus. I had soon after a fine view of Diaforte, seen through a pass between two near mountains, and hovering high above them and all the others. After travelling some time over hill and dale, I had from the top of a ridge a most striking view of Karitena. It is an extensive castle, covering a table-land, which is seen over the top of a nearer range. The hill on which it stands, though tapering a little towards the top, has sides quite inaccessible. Beyond it was a plain, and more mountains, and near to me, but far below on the left, appeared the Alpheus in a deep valley and full of water. There was more grandeur in the character of this scenery than in most of Peloponnesus. About two hours before reaching Karitena I entered a narrow valley between high and woody mountains, divided by a branch of the Alpheus. It was a lovely sequestered place, the silence of which was made more sensible by the occasional note of a bird.

'On crossing the hill on the left of this valley the stream of the Alpheus is again seen winding through a part of the plain of Megalopolis. On descending the hill the castle appears to great advantage. The top of the hill is covered with a Venetian castle, repaired by Colocotroni; a platform lower down is occupied by an embattled building of his erection; under these is a perpendicular rock which stands on a ridge of a mountain.

At length I reached the Alpheus and passed it by a venerable-looking bridge, hung with ivy, and probably the work of the Venetians. From under this bridge the Alpheus passes into a glen between perpendicular rocks, after which I fancy the river passes through the chasm in the mountain under the castle. I ascended to the town, and got a room up a ladder, as usual three parts filled with grain and lumber.'

COLOCOTRONI.

'I was expressing to one of Colocotroni's men in the bazaar my regret at not having seen him in the French camp, when the man said I might perhaps see him here, for he had just come back, and might possibly be visible. I told him to say an English traveller was here, and, if he was perfectly at leisure, would pay his respects. The man said he would, and presently addressed Antonio *τὸς ἀνθρώπου εἶναι*. The question did not seem properly put, for Antonio replied very gruffly, *Ἀνθρώπου*. I left them at this time, but I suppose Antonio's explanations were satisfactory, for presently came a message that the general would be happy to see me. The bearer spoke a little French, and with him I ascended the hill, and near the castellated building we passed a man in the dusk to whose good evening I gave a careless answer, until told by my guide that this was Colocotroni. He had come out to meet us, gave me a hearty shake of the hand, and taking me by the arm led me into his castle. He spoke a few words of English and not much more of Italian. Our conversation was therefore carried on through Giorgio. The room he led me into was a good large one with plain deal walls and plain divans in one part. On them sat he and I, his attendants in numbers standing on the side of the room opposite him. He was a stout, rather fat, dark man, by no means ill-looking, but with a coarse uncivilised look. It struck me I had seen many Mussulmans in India not unlike him in general appearance and manner. Futteh Jung at Ellichpoor was one. He was dressed in the Albanian dress,

with a laced jacket without sleeves, but otherwise plainly. His upper jacket, with two silver lions' heads for epaulettes, hung on a nail. There was a large mastiff and several terriers and other dogs about the room.

Colocotroni was very civil, talked of his attachment to the English, not only because he had eaten their bread for eight years, but because they had done so much for his country. His son Janni came in, a slender lad about twenty, who spoke Italian, and seemed more like a student than a soldier, but is, they say, particularly brave, and much more forward in the field than his father. I stayed to dinner, and with difficulty declined spending another day with them. Dinner was in another room, at a deal table with deal benches, a tablecloth, plates, knives, and forks. It was plain meat; my share was boiled rice. The father and son sat at table, but the ladies, according to Grecian custom, ancient and modern, kept retired. Old Colocotroni drank wine out of a square bottle which he emptied twice. It was not two quarts in all, and his son said was his fixed allowance, it being, he said, his father's fancy to drink thus. When dinner was over, I was shown a good bedroom with very neat beds for Giorgio and me, and with difficulty got off to my loft. The conversation was of course chiefly about the Greek war and the general's own adventures. He said his family for many generations were always in rebellion against the Turks. He named his immediate ancestors for some generations back, and said his father's name was Constantine, and his own Theodore, and disclaimed George, who is mentioned by Dodwell. He said that thirty years ago they cleared the Morea of 30,000 Albanians, but were at length driven out, when his father fled to Corfu. He remained there sixteen years, and served Russians, French, and English in succession. At the beginning of the Revolution he came back to Greece; he knew Capo d'Istria twenty-three years ago, when he was secretary to the Ionian Republic. He has a son, his youngest, now at Corfu; his eldest was killed in the late civil wars. Janni was born in the Seven Islands, and is married to Javella's sister. Nikétas is Colocotroni's sister's son, and brought up under his

care. Colocotroni said that for eight years he had never slept in a bed, or had his sandals (or boots, some Albanian article of dress) off his feet. He was sometimes at the head of 5,000 men; he often lived for twenty days on flesh without bread, often on roasted grain alone. He talked of the difficulties of commanding in irregular war, from the want of arms, provisions, fixed stations, and money; the troops going and coming when they pleased, and more taken up about the safety of their families than the service; yet the son said these troops were always better than the Turks of the same description, their irregulars were always better, and the few regulars and cavalry they had, better also. Their inferiority was in the want of these last-mentioned arms; yet, even as it was, they would have held out but for their divisions. They had been united at first, but latterly all fighting among themselves. Colocotroni said he was in exile at Hydra when Ibrahim came, and was so for three months (I understand he was a prisoner). He praised Miaulis; said fireships began at Ipsara, were introduced by a Russian, taken up by Kanaris, who was an Ipsariot, and that soon there were many Kanaris'. He was enthusiastic in his praise of Captain Hamilton (of the navy), of whom all Greeks speak in raptures; praised General Church, and said he had suggested inviting him to command the Greek army. He dwelt much on the blockade of Napoli, by which it was reduced to capitulate, and was surprised by one of his officers during the parley. He spoke also much of the blockade of Corinth, said Dramali (Mahmood Pacha) had come in with 30,000 men, and infinite numbers of horses and cattle. He died at Corinth, and only 2,000 men escaped. He said that at Dervenáki he had only 800 men against 10,000 Turks; that Nikéas joined at the end with 200 more. Other subjects were spoken of, especially two schools; one, the old one, at Demitzaní which still exists, having been defended against the Turks by Janni with 2,000 men, and a new one at ¹. . (founded and conducted, Giorgio tells me, by a hermit from Castel Orizo). At both they teach "in the English way" with sand (I conclude the Lancasterian way), and at both

¹ Blank in the original.

military exercise is part of the education. Colocotroni made me promise to see his son, and write to him from Corfu, and gave many messages to Sir Frederick Adam.'

Mr. Elphinstone's account of his sail through the Cyclades is given at some length. The description of the ancient remains in Delos is curious. The western part of the island, he says, is perfectly covered with heaps of building stones and other remains of the ancient town, including numerous columns and architectural remains, and a great quantity of white marble. These ruins extend from the sea on the north to within a half or a quarter of a mile from it on the south, and from the sea on the west to the very foot of Mount Cynthus; this occupies almost the whole of the habitable part of the island. The principal remains are the great temple, the theatre, and a long building that seems to have been a portico. A sort of vault in the cyclopean style is also very curious. These ruins at the time of his visit were very little more than heaps of white marble used as quarries, from which the neighbouring islands and mainland are supplied with building materials, while two kilns were at work to assist in the work of destruction.

The account of Serpho is also interesting as suggesting an explanation of an ancient fable. This was the island to which the frail bark which contained Danaë and her son was driven when exposed by Acrisius.

'We approached Serpho from the N.E. The view of it from that side is very romantic, much more so than any of the other Cyclades. On the left is a huge mass of rock, which seems to form part of the island, and on the right, and in front, is the main body of the island, which is uncommonly high and wild. The town is on a high pointed hill not much lower than the top of the upper ridge. The port is long and narrow, and we had several tacks to make before we got in. The numbers of rocks on the left of the harbour, which really do bear some resemblance to a crowd of people, probably suggested the story of the petrification of the king and people by Perseus with the Gorgon's head.'

AT THE END OF THE CRUISE.

'October 5.—We were at the mouth of the port (of Serpho) at six, but since then have a good though not quite favourable wind, and are perhaps one-third of the way to Spezzia. Serpho, Kimolo, and Milo make a good view to the south, but still more Anti-Milo, a round mountain rising from the sea, and exhibiting its head above the clouds that hang round its central region. This is no proof of height here, the clouds often sinking below the tops of the most moderate-sized islands. I have now done with the Cyclades; I have seen Naxia, which is universally acknowledged to be the finest and most picturesque, and Tino, which is cried up as the most civilised and best cultivated. I doubt, however, whether Zea is not entitled to the second place on the list; and Andros also is certainly a fine island. Their general character, as I well knew before, is that of barren hills. I expected plains on the coast, as at Cos and Rhodes. These I did not find, but the industry shown in cultivating the hills far exceeded my expectations, which were equalled by the beauty of the valleys in Tenos and Naxos. A person who goes without undue expectations will be much pleased with the Cyclades, and almost all the information to be had from books will tend to guide them right. I know not, indeed, from whence has originated the opinion that these islands are the most perfect specimens of beauty, fertility, and felicity; but such an opinion I find very general, and accompanied among travellers with strong expressions of disappointment and disgust. The ancients, however, as far as I know, have always spoken of them more contemptuously than they deserve.

Νῆσοι ἐρημαῖοι τρύφεια χθονός, ἀ κελαδεινός
 Ζωστήρ Αἰγαίου κύματος ἐντὸς ἔχει, &c.

Siphnos, Seriphos, Gyros, and Polygandros, in particular, are perfect bywords among the Greeks and Romans for ruggedness and sterility.'

On his return from the Cyclades Mr. Elphinstone again passed through the Morea on his way to Olympia. Ibrahim's

army had now evacuated the country, but they left behind traces of their ravages. Shortly after leaving Tripolitza he remarks:—‘Soon after, I saw the convent of Candila, in two divisions, situated in two adjoining hollows of a high rock, and each at the mouth of a cave. One of them is two stories high, and striking from its situation. They beat off Ibrahim’s troops, and have not been destroyed, as every other place I passed to-day has. On crossing the hill between the plains of Tripolitza and Lebidi I met several families, with twenty or thirty small horses loaded with children and baggage, returning from the woods, where they had retired in the evil days. They seemed to have plenty of property, and their children looked uncommonly rosy and healthy.’

Another monastery, on the Gulf of Salona, also withstood the attacks of Ibrahim, but the poor monks were reduced to extreme poverty. The situation of the convent was very picturesque. The approach was barred by a natural bastion, on which a cross was fixed instead of a flag. ‘On the right,’ Mr. Elphinstone adds, ‘are high crags over the road, and between is the barren wall. The monastery is not far beyond, and is a most striking place. It is an irregular pile of great extent, built in a vast natural cave, which it fills, high up lofty mountains, and under perpendicular cliffs, some hundred feet in height. The place withstood two attacks of Ibrahim’s troops. The entrance was through a low arched gate, and then a long dark passage.’

The reception was civil but cold. ‘The fact is,’ Mr. Elphinstone adds, ‘times are altered with the poor monks; their own lands have been wasted, their flocks reduced to poverty, and they are no longer in the circumstances in which they were seen by former travellers. Giorgio saw their once clean and neat refectory in a ruined state, and I was shown their famous cellar, a long cave with a number of very large barrels, placed without order; but my conductor struck one of them, and called my attention to the hollow sound it returned.’

OLYMPIA.

'October 23.—I set off at 20 minutes before 7, having been up at half-past four. We came in sight of the Ionian Sea, and from the top of a ridge had a noble view of wood and mountain, plain and valley. It is impossible for me to attempt describing the places that give me pleasure, as it would only lead to incessant repetitions of the same phrases: one view such as I met with every ten paces would take up whole sheets in another country, and would quite exhaust the language of description. A little before eight I saw the Erymanthus coming down a long valley from the mountains of the same name; the rocks and forests on its banks seemed equal in beauty to those of the Ladon. At half-past nine, from a more advanced part of the same ridge I saw the junction of the Ladon and Alpheus; they meet in the plain before described, which, though called "the Plain" by the Arcadians, cannot be anywhere more than a mile or two broad, unless it be exactly at the junction. The view I had here was across the Ladon, and straight up the valley of the Alpheus.

'It is somewhat strange that here they apply the name of Rufia to the Ladon, while on the Alpheus they appropriate that name (more correctly, I imagine) to their own stream, and call the Ladon the River of Phinia. On these hills I observed heaths (which are always common both here and in the isles) in unusual abundance, and in the course of the day I saw some plants of it fifteen or eighteen feet high. The junction of the Erymanthus takes place a little below that of the Ladon, and is seen from the same point. Looking up the Erymanthus, to the right of the range I have called Erymanthus, and further off, is seen Olemis, now covered with clouds. From this ridge also I saw Lalla, or rather the ruined houses that once composed Lalla: only four families of Greeks remain there; the Turks are now expatriated or extirpated. Near two hours of this part of the ride was through a thick and fine oak forest. In many places the leaves had already fallen in numbers, and I observe that generally in these warm places the trees give more signs of the

approach of winter than they did among the snows. In this wood we met as usual flocks of sheep and goats, the numbers of which, especially of sheep, throughout Arcadia is very striking. At ten we reached Bélesi, having just left the oak forest, and not long after descended into the valley of the Erymanthus, and crossed the river, which is small, and in itself will bear no comparison in any respect with the Ladon. After crossing the valley we left it through a gap in the hills, from which I took a last look at Arcadia, thinking I should never see so lovely a country again.

‘As if by way of contrast, I immediately entered on a tract of bare downs, with withered ferns and a few stunted trees. This lasted some time, but improved again, and at 11.30 I came in sight of the Alpheus flowing beneath the hills to my left, through the middle of a most picturesque plain or circular valley, diversified with hills broken into the most varied shapes, and covered with light green pines. Before descending from the height, I again saw the snowy peak of Khelmos. The rest of the road lay along the bank of the river in the plain. Before one I passed Palaio Phanari, on the top of a range of hills beyond the river, and from the point of that range I had a very fine view of the Alpheus towards the mountains. The trees are now almost all pines, and the sudden change from the oaks to them is the more remarkable as it occurs after a descent. The climate is quite altered by a continued descent. We reached Miraki at three. The hospitable Agha’s tower is a ruin, and I am in a hovel, the wall of which is very unsecurely propped up with posts. Pigs swarm, and constantly threaten to come between my feet. In the evening, after reading the lovely description of the Olympic games in the younger Anacharsis, I walked out to see the ground, expecting to have some distance to walk before I saw it, but within three steps from the huts the whole plain came at once in sight, and presented a highly interesting scene. It is a plain of considerable breadth, through which the Alpheus winds in great curves, almost approaching at each turning to the hills that bound the plain. Those hills, though not very high, are peaked and channelled in a manner that makes them

very picturesque, and are covered with pines. There are also many trees scattered over the plain, and the whole scene, though quite different in character, will bear a comparison in beauty with the fine landscapes of Arcadia.

‘I admired the plain of Olympus until the sun was set, and fancied the scene it must have presented, when adorned with the pomp of the games, thronged with spectators, and resounding with the shouts and applause of assembled Greece. There Themistocles and Plato received the homage of their country, and here it is said Thucydides was inspired with ambition to become an historian by hearing Herodotus read his own admired production. I went also to a mound or tumulus which commands a view of the plain I passed to-day, and that of Olympus (which are only separated by a ridge), and comprehends an extensive prospect of the winding course of the Alpheus. That river contains a body of water about 150 yards broad, and seemingly deep; but its bed is much broader, and its appearance is that of a considerable river. On returning to my *ronak* I found it cleared out, the door shut against the pigs, a fine fire blazing, and everything in the first style of comfort. I doubt if I shall ever enjoy the luxurious inns and good cookery of England more than I have done these hovels, and my dinner of rice and boiled gourds (*zuca*).’

‘Derveesh Chelebi, 9½ hours.

‘October 24.—I set out long before sunrise to see the remains of Olympia. I easily found the mount of Saturn by Sir W. Gell’s directions, and was thus guided to the temple, of which some foundations of the Cella wall, the trenches left by other parts that have been excavated, and a few marble fragments, are the only vestiges remaining. I then went towards the place where Sir W. Gell says there may be remains of the Hippodrome. I saw none, but I was struck with a regular curve on a bank, like an immense theatre, which I thought might have been one side of the Hippodrome. These and three or four little brick ruins are all that there is to see. However dazzling the first recollections of the Olympic games, a very

little reflection forces on one the sense of the extreme puerility shown in the importance attached to them. The merit, even when personal, was of the lowest description, and all the honours might be won without the victor having any share in the success (as by the chariot of one absent person), yet all the rewards and honours that could be conferred on public virtue were lavished on those who distinguished themselves in this trifling sport, and the respect paid to them seems to have been as sincere and cordial as that to the greatest statesmen or warriors.'

On the day following this entry he reached the coast and passed over to Zante in a gun-boat. He now found himself again among his countrymen. Captain Lyons, of the 'Blonde,' offered him a passage to Patras, and he sailed from there to Ithaca and Corfu in the 'Raleigh' (Captain Hayes). On leaving the shores of Greece he remarks, 'Here is an end of my journey in Asiatic countries (in reference to this mode of travelling I must include Greece). Henceforward come roads and carriages, towns, churches, and galleries, instead of ruins; and civilised society instead of Aghas and Demogerontes. The prospect of a change ought to be very exhilarating, but it is not so as yet to me. I expect all scenes to lose their interest from being so hackneyed, and I rather dislike the restraints of civilisation.'

'October 26.—This day year Malcolm arrived at Bombay, relieved my anxieties, and set me free to undertake my long wished-for journey; and this day the part of it that almost exclusively engaged my attention has been brought to a close.'

ITHACA.

'November 13.—To-day we passed the island of Oxia, and were long about it, and consequently the mouth of the Achilous, which, however, I did not observe. At night we were off Ithaca, but did not enter the port, as the captain was a stranger.'

'November 14.—The "Raleigh" lay-to off the mouth of the harbour, and I went ashore to take a hasty view of the

neighbourhood of the town, and return in two hours. I went to the Sanitá, and then to Major Parsons the Resident's house. He and Dr. Macartney went in a boat along with us to see the sights. The first was a very shallow hollow in the rock, the remains of an artificial grotto, supposed to be that of the Naiads, near which the Phœnician sailors left Ulysses. The port agrees well with the description, and the situation of the cave ἐπὶ κρατὸς λιμένος,² and near the sea with that in Homer; but there are no remains of the basins and other works in stone, nor even of the perennial spring. Some of our predecessors destroyed the grotto, and we have almost buried the site by running a raised road close to the rock in which it was cut. I then went forward for about a mile, to see from below the palace called the Palace of Ulysses. The remains are at some height, but I could easily distinguish them with the naked eye, and with a glass could observe that parts of the wall were in the Cyclopean style; and that one place, where much of the wall, including an angle, remains, was of a less massy character. I must, however, doubt if Ulysses' palace stood at such a height. The city was evidently on the Cephalonian side of the island, as the natural approach was through the channel between that and Ithaca, and it had a port close to it. It stood on a height, for there was a descent to the farm of Laertes (Ω. 204), yet it was lower than Ulysses' palace, as appears from the constant use of κατὰ ἄστυ. But neither the ascent from the sea to the town, nor from that to the palace, could be great. The conspirators are seen entering the port: they land, and are in the Agora at Ulysses' Gate, before the conversation occasioned by their appearance has ceased (Ω. 343 to 363). The suitors propose to call out to the people from the house (X. 132) which argues no great distance; and in Ω. (462, &c.) there is an assault by citizens on the palace, in which the height, if an obstacle to their success, would surely have been mentioned. It is probable, therefore, that both town and palace stood on the bay west of these ruins, and it is not unlikely that the Acropolis, of which they formed a part, may have been the work of a later age. After seeing

² *Od.* xiii. 102. At the head of the port.

these ruins, I was about to re-embark, when I found Captain Hayes had anchored the ship and come ashore; and, joining him at Major Parsons', we determined to go to the fountain of Arethusa. Mr. Parsons determined to accompany us, and after a luncheon, off we set on foot. There being nothing to examine or inquire about, this was a mere party of pleasure, and a very delightful one it proved. We first went along a made road, macadamised, and, like the other, too broad and good for the island; but this, ended in two miles, was rather laborious,

τρήχειαν ἀταπρόν
χώρον ἂν ἑλθέντα δι' ἀκρίας,³

as that of Ulysses is described to have been when performing the same journey. The first part of the way was over rich currant-fields and vineyards; the last through woods of arbutus and other shrubs, all very pleasing. The whole island, indeed, has an appearance very different from what the disparaging epithets in the *Odyssey* led me to expect. Where not cultivated and set off with villages, as it often is, it is always green and shrubby; and, though high, neither so poor nor so rugged as most of the Cyclades. The fountain itself is beautifully situated; above is the Rock of Korax mentioned by Homer, which is a perpendicular cliff over another range of rocks. A small cascade has left its mark in the middle of the cliff, and forms the head of a torrent, the bed of which divides the valley. The sides of this valley are woody and wide at first; but when it has passed the fountain it becomes a narrow and picturesque glen. The water of the fountain is clear and delicious, and issues from a well in a cave that has been partly built up. The site near the south point of the island, where there is a port (that where Telemachus landed), agrees well with the *Odyssey*, and the name of Korax is still given to the rock, a circumstance which would have more weight, if the inhabitants of most places in Greece did not so readily adopt the names assigned by modern travellers, as to destroy all faith in their traditions.'

³ A rough path, through a woody place, over hills.

CORFU.

'December 6.—I went yesterday with Frederick, Captain Bridgman and Mr. Ross to St. Pantaleone, a distance of fifteen miles or so, eight miles of which in going we did in a carriage ; the remaining seven and the fifteen returning we rode. The day was perfectly delightful, clear and sunny, so cool that we wore our cloaks in the carriage, though we did not miss them when out of it, till dark. We started at nine, and were back by half-past five, having spent about one hour at lunch. The views were enchanting, the island, the mouth and eastern cape of the Adriatic, and the high shores and snowy mountains of Albania, on which the setting sun threw a rosy light worthy of a last view of Greece. Such I must consider it, as I embark to-morrow at daybreak on the steamboat for Brindisi. I have been delighted with Corfu, the greatest charm of which was the society of Frederick Adam and his unremitting kindness. I am now to enter on a new scene ; and Greece and Asia Minor and all their islands must for the time be forgotten.

χαίρετ' Ἀθῆναι
Γείτονες Εὐβοίης, χαίρε, θάλασσα φίλη.'

Soon after landing in Italy Mr. Elphinstone found himself on the beaten track of tourists. The winter was passed at Naples and at Rome, and in the spring he returned to England through Northern Italy and France. At the first named of these places he found relatives, and a ready welcome from his countrymen ; and his journal consists of a record not merely of subjects of historical and other interest, but of the varied society in which he lived. The only extracts that I have made from the account of this close of his travels are the following.

CANNÆ.

'December 26.—Having arranged overnight for leaving the main road and going by Cannæ and Canosa to Cerignola, I started without difficulty at a quarter before eight, and drove

by a bad, unmade by-road, over an open and gently undulated plain to Cannæ, which I reached at twenty minutes after nine. I first went up a height opposite to the house and sheepfolds, now called Canne, and divided from it by a hollow, through which the road runs. This height is said by the country people to be the site of ancient Cannæ. They showed me two inscriptions found there, they said, eight years ago: one was a milestone of Trajan, who made or repaired the road from Beneventum to Brundisium; the other was a fragment.

‘The Aufidus ran near the height to the west through a rich plain, in a very winding course, but with frequent rapids, the sound of which was heard up the hill. It did not at this place give the idea of the “*violens Aufidus*,” whose noise, rapidity, and destructive inundations are so often mentioned by Horace. A little above Cannæ, where I first saw it, it had one high bank, while the other bore evident marks of high floods; it then was confined between deeper banks, and afterwards widened considerably, its course being everywhere winding, and striking me from the very sight as likely to have often changed. Its general breadth is from fifty to a hundred yards, the banks about fifteen feet deep, but the stream, where not collected in pools, narrow and shallow. About Cannæ, and above it, as far as I could see, the river ran through a plain of two or three miles broad, bounded by low heights. Its winding course at first lay perhaps nearest the hills on its left, but from the nature of the slope it could scarcely for any distance have left a plain on its right bank more than a mile and a half broad anywhere above Cannæ. The only place where it is so broad is close to Canosa, and therefore could scarcely have been the field of battle. About three miles from Canosa, and as much from Cannæ, the low heights contract, and scarcely leave a mile between them. The Aufidus at this time is near the left hills. Almost immediately after the straight, the left hills sink gradually into the plain, and disappear before they reach the line of Cannæ. About the same place the river crosses the plain, comes near the right hills, and at Cannæ and for a mile or more lower down continues close under them. The right hills also then

cease (I was told, near the village of Sta. Maria del Petto), and the river goes on through an open plain to the sea. Its general course is from S.W. to N.E. As, therefore, the Romans, who faced the south, had the river on their right, and the Carthaginians, who faced the north, had it on their left, it is evident that the battle must have been fought on the right bank; and yet it is difficult to find room for two armies on that side without going down to such a distance as to increase the difficulty, already great, of reconciling the distance from Cannæ to Canosa, five or six miles at least, with that given to Cannæ by Procopius, who makes it only twenty-five stadia. The field pointed out by the shepherds, and called by them Pezzo di Sangue, is a level spot about a mile and a half long, and scarcely as broad, below Cannæ, and between the river and hills, which is evidently quite insufficient for the action. It appears, however, that in floods the river throws off a branch about a mile above Cannæ, which diverges from the main river so much that soon after coming in a line with Cannæ it passes under a bridge about a mile from that place, and continues to diverge more and more till it reaches the sea. This bridge is conspicuous from the hills near Cannæ, and its size shows how considerable the branch over which it is built must be. It is probable, therefore, that this or some line further off was the ancient course of the Aufidus, which leaves room for the battle between the right bank of the river and the hills. There is no Vergellus, nor do the shepherds know of any stream, however small, except the Aufidus. There are also some difficulties about the camps, even supposing the change of course. But, however uncertain the precise spot may be, there is no doubt, whatever, that the battle was fought in the wide green plain, which I saw before me stretching out level and open, broken only by a few farmhouses, and still affording an admirable field for military operations, especially those of cavalry, which Hannibal is said to have had in view when he selected the ground for his camp. There, therefore, had taken place the grand struggle described by Livy, the flight and slaughter of the Romans, and the heroic death of Paulus Emilius, and there lay the bodies of so many

thousand Romans, "fœdam etiam hostibus spectandam stragem." In the course of my survey I walked along the hills for a quarter of a mile or more, in the direction away from Cannæ, and I there fell in with six or seven gentlemen from Barletta with pointers and guns, looking out, as they told me, for foxes and hares. One of them was perfectly acquainted with Livy's account of the battle; they all agreed that the river had certainly changed its course, and this gentleman thought the battle took place further up towards Canosa, which another contested, but both said the Pezzo di Sangue lay higher up, and the shepherds afterwards admitted that it was a long tract not confined to the spot.

'The shepherds, though accustomed to frequent this place every winter, are natives of Abruzzo from near Sulmone. They were two of thirty employed to take care of 6,000 sheep, all belonging to one family. They were both very good fellows, one in a common hat, with a shaggy sheepskin mantle without sleeves, and gaiters of the same. The other, but for his high-crowned hat, which the first had not, was like an English clown. They both spoke perfectly intelligible Italian, though with a rustic pronunciation, as Ulpe for Volpe. They at first refused a dollar I offered, saying "non importa," that they were glad to go about with me, without putting me to any trouble. After they had taken it, they asked if I would have wine, and apologised for having nothing else in that out-of-the-way place. They were quite plain fellows, without any compliments. I went with them to the sheepfolds at Cannæ, which were extensive; their dogs ran out, large white dogs, something like those in Arcadia, but not near so fierce.'

ROME.

'January 27.—On leaving Alba, I passed by the Tomb of Ascanius, or, as it is called on as little authority, that of Clodius, and descended the hill where that demagogue met his fate. The tomb is high, and shaped something like an obelisk. It has been coated with large polished stones, some of which remain. There is another similar to it, but not so large, lower

down, and two others near the foot of the hill, after which the whole plain is scattered with ruins. Castel Gandolfo appears proudly seated on the hill, from the lower part of the descent, and the ridge seems a low, soft, cultivated swell, especially the part between Albano and Frascati, which was also in sight; as well as the site of the Tusculan Villa. The scene now became every moment more decidedly Roman. Two fine aqueducts crossed the plain, which was scattered with ruins, and was itself open and deserted, though not uncultivated. At no great distance rose St. Peter's and announced the presence of that city whose glories have filled our minds from the moment when we began to think, and whose decline is so strongly recalled by the solitude and ruin that surround us. A lowering day, with occasional rain, was in harmony with the scene, but the whole produced not a spark of sensation.

‘For years I have pictured the sight of Rome as the most interesting event of a lifetime, and I never read of a traveller’s approach to it without a thrill; yet I now passed on to this long-wished-for object with as much indifference as if I were entering a country town. I ascribe this chiefly to the weather, and the sirocco, the dead weight of which I had felt all the morning; and, finding myself in no humour for enjoyment, I drew up the head of my calash against the rain, and resolved to look at nothing until better times. Even in this-humour I could not pass the Coliseum without astonishment, nor could I help admiring the grand and stately character of the palaces, which the previous sight of those at Naples had only enabled me to appreciate. I was struck also with a sort of square, where one of the ancient columns, and the churches with domes, made a magnificent assemblage. It was the Forum Trajanum; a sunk space in the centre with columns of different heights completes the view. . . .

‘*January 28.*—I went next to St. Peter’s, and on my way crossed the Tiber at Adrian’s Mole (now the Castle of St. Angelo). The sight of the Tiber gave me the first lively sensation since my arrival. It came down full, turbid, and *yellow*, and brought a flood of the most interesting recollections with its

stream. It was then, for the first time, that I *felt* I was in Rome. It is strange what an effort it generally requires to remind one that this is really the scene of all the great actions and events that have so long filled one's mind. At Athens Pericles still haunts the Acropolis, and Themistocles the Piræus, the spirit of Socrates hovers over the Ilissus, and the memory of the ancient heroes and sages, with a sort of feeling of their presence, is never absent from one's mind. But there you stand among ruins alone, or if there are Turks, there is nothing in them or their history to call off attention from former days. Here, the Leos, Gregories, and Juliuses; Petrarch, Tasso, Michael Angelo, Raphael and Bramante, block up the way to the Romans; even present occupations in a large and varied society prevent the free course of your imagination: the actual presence of St. Peter's dims the shade of the Capitol, and a brilliant assembly at Torlonia's is oftener recalled next morning than the triumph of Julius Cæsar. At Athens, to speak figuratively, an ancient fabric remains, ruined indeed, but distinct and unencumbered. Here, a modern edifice has been built on the site, which both conceals the more ancient one, and draws off one's thoughts by its own beauty and grandeur. Since writing the above, I have found new sources of disturbance of the proper state of mind for Rome, and this in the number of remains themselves, and the manner of showing them. I was going from the Quirinal Palace, thinking chiefly on pictures and statues, when my *valet de place* called out from behind the carriage that we were in the Forum Romanum; before I could raise my head, he called out "the Temple of Concord!" and while I began to think whether it was not there that Cicero spoke his grand oration against Catiline, while the Equites formed a guard in the porch, he added "Jupiter Stator." Cicero's invocation of that deity was the first thing that occurred, but it was instantly chased out by the Arch of Septimus Severus,—a double annoyance, as one hardly considers the emperors, after those in Tacitus, to belong to the classical age, and yet it is to them that almost all the remains in Rome belong. This evening also I found myself at the Campidoglio,

too late to go anywhere else, and determined to enjoy the view of Rome from the site of the Capitol, but the tower from which it could be done was locked up. I then thought of the Tarpeian Rock, but the custode (for even the Tarpeian Rock has a custode) was out of the way. His wife at length brought the key, and then, it must be owned, some enjoyment did follow my annoyances. A noble scene of ruins was before me; the Palatine, the Aventine, and the Tiber near at hand, and the snowy Apennines at a distance. Some of these objects are unchanged since the augury of Romulus and Remus, and the changes in others are of the deepest interest.

“Hoc nemus, hunc (inquit) frondoso vertice collem
(Quis deus, incertum est) habitat deus,” &c.

When Virgil described this solitary scene on the Capitol, he contrasted it with the glories which it displayed in his time.

“Aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.”

Those glories also are passed away; the Capitol has sunk under new masters, and Jove has resigned his seat to other gods.’

COUNT HAUGWITZ.

‘*Venice, March 23.*—A much more remarkable visitor was Count Haugwitz, the Prussian Minister, on whom we used to look with so much horror, and who I always thought killed himself after the battle of Jena. He is an old man of seventy-nine, but hale and strong, very cheerful and remarkably lively and communicative.

‘Mr. Money gave him the little drawing-out he required, and he told us a variety of anecdotes, chiefly about his intercourse with Buonaparte, alluding once in joke to Sir Walter Scott’s charge against him of corruption, to which, however, I believe he means to publish a reply. He told us that his first meeting with Buonaparte was the night before the battle of

Jena,⁴ when he was sent to offer the mediation of Prussia (who was to make war if he refused; this, however, Haugwitz did not mention). Buonaparte was walking in a long hall, but met Haugwitz at the very door, and stepped back two paces to let him enter. He then said in the most gracious way that he was much pleased to make his acquaintance; then jokingly said he had heard ever since he entered public life of the *old* Count Haugwitz, but that he did not think him so very old after all. This I think was mixed with some other compliment, but Buonaparte almost immediately after assumed a severe manner and said, "Well, sir, what is this you are come about? What do you mean? What do you pretend to? Do you wish to hold a knife to my throat? I would let you know that I am not a man to have a knife held to my throat." Haugwitz disclaimed all such intention with every appearance of humility, and offered his mediation in a way that seems to have satisfied Buonaparte, for he said, "Ah! this is what I call talking;" however, he soon said, "It is no time for negotiating now when we can hear the rattling of the cannon."

'Haugwitz had, on a former occasion, concluded a treaty with him which the King of Prussia refused to ratify. When Buonaparte sent for him and said he had hitherto considered him the King of Prussia's Minister, Haugwitz said that till now he had imagined he was so still. "How can you call yourself a Minister when the King——?" It was, says Haugwitz, his way to leave sentences unfinished to make them more emphatic. He went on, "Not ratify the treaty? Why, if you had negotiated it with *this* M. Talleyrand" (he and another, I believe Duroc, were present), "I should have thought you had given him two millions of francs and gained him over. It is only because you negotiated it with me that I think it was fairly obtained." "If my sovereign," says Haugwitz, "had said this to me, whatever Sir Walter Scott may say, I would have clapped my hand on my sword, but Talleyrand showed no feeling

⁴ This is a great mistake. The meeting was at Schönbrunn, after Austerlitz, long before Jena—a new proof of the value of contemporary history at second-hand.

of any kind ; he has the most complete command of face, and his eye is absolutely a dead eye." It ended in a worse treaty which was ratified. Buonaparte had intimated his intention of detaining Haugwitz if it were not ratified, and he had expressed to his Court his readiness to go to the Seven Towers, if the King's policy required it. He now lives in voluntary retirement at Este, where he tried to persuade his old rival Hardenberg to come and join him at the time when he was at Verona with the Emperor. This shows the footing on which he remained with his successful rival, and it seems he always speaks of him with respect.'

PARIS.

'Paris, April 26.—I returned to Madame Flahault's soirée, where among others were Pozzo di Borgo, Sebastiani, and a young Pole, Walewski, almost avowed as a natural son of Napoleon ; but by far the most interesting personage was old Talleyrand, who sat overlooking three or four people who were playing piquet in a separate room, and stayed after all the rest of the party were gone. He is like the pictures, but has nothing of the cold impenetrable look they give him ; on the contrary, his eye is lively, his expression good-humoured, and his face is more lighted up when he talks than one would expect at his age. They say he is very fond of talking, and often very amusing, but that he has the art of talking without letting much out. He is however writing his Memoirs, and, however he may wish to disguise facts in them, he must make great disclosures. He is an odd figure, pale, with the skin of his face hanging loose, and with a great deal of hair gummed and powdered. Flahault told a curious anecdote which he had from himself. The very night when he preached the sermon at the grand ceremony of the Confederation he went to three gambling-houses, broke all the banks, and won seven or eight thousand pounds, on which he subsisted till the fury of the Revolution was over, when he returned to France. Not the least wonderful thing is that he never entered a gambling-house since then,

‘At this party, as in the streets and public places, I was struck with the paucity of beauty among the French women. Three women struck me as good-looking in the party; two proved to be English, and the third Italian.’

CALAIS.

‘*Calais, May 1.*—To-morrow I embark for England, and shall reach it in three hours. It is an awful event to see one’s country and friends after the changes of more than thirty years; but my feelings at this moment are those of pleasure alone. I have long looked on Britain from a distance, not only as my own country but as the country of great men, and of memorable events, and I feel the same sort of enthusiasm and respect for it that I felt for Italy and Greece. Much of this feeling will perhaps be lost, as at Rome, in the vulgarity of everyday occupations, but I still think it will be no ordinary moment when I again set foot on British ground.

‘I close my travels with little hope that I shall ever pass so pleasant a period again. The great charm was the perfect freedom from care and restraint, combined (which it scarce ever is) with perfect exemption from ennui.

‘Whoever wishes to enjoy occupation without labour, and interest without anxiety, or to compress into a moderate period the greatest beauties of art and nature, the most impressive recollections of ancient times, and the most striking peculiarities of modern manners, could scarcely attain his object better than by entering on the journey which I am now concluding.’

CANTERBURY.

‘*Canterbury, May 2.*—Here I am in England. I rose very early, having many things to do, the most troublesome of which was selling my carriage. I gave Schneiderf at Florence fifty louis for it. Mr. Dessein offered me eight, and in my hurry to be off with the steamboat I sold it to another man for ten.

‘The steamer which was to sail at seven did not sail till nine. She then went along the coast of France to get to windward of

Dover, and at length struck across the Channel. "Then ensued a scene," &c. &c. Many were sick even before we left the coast, but sickness now became general and horrible. I do not remember ever to have suffered more. I sat up for a while, and looked out in vain for England. At last, when I had long been prostrate, I raised my head, and found the vessel close under the white cliffs, coasting as in France. They are white enough to entitle them fully to that constant epithet, and the green which borders them above looks well from contrast. Except near Dover, where the castle stands, they are low, and then not very high.

'Long after I landed I was so sick and giddy that I scarce knew what I was about. I afterwards walked about the town, and admired the extraordinary neatness of the houses and streets. The shops made full as good a show as French ones. I was struck with the number of religious books. The people in the town were *perhaps* better dressed, but certainly not better looking than the French. What surprised me was that they had all a slovenly lounging air, very unlike the energy and business habits one is accustomed to ascribe to them. All with whom I had anything to do were quite as civil as the French, or as was possible. I saw with delight many old objects that I have not seen since I left home. They were of the humblest description, gingerbread figures, tin milk-pails, &c. Some servant-maid was astonished on landing at Calais to hear the children speaking French. I was almost as much startled to hear all the common people speaking English. The numerous carriages distinguished Dover from a French town. The hotel was much what one of equal celebrity would be in France, but more comfortable.

'The delays of changing my napoleons, &c., detained me till near six, from near three (for the steamer was six hours on the passage). I then got a post-chaise and set off "for Canterbury with devout courage." The chaise was a very neat one, the horses excellent, and the harness equally so. The postilion was smartly dressed, but looked duller than a French postilion, and appeared to disadvantage from leaning forward and rising

in his stirrups. He was not dull when anything was to do, but despatched his work in the best style and shortest time.

‘Before we left Dover, we had an instance of politeness which would have made a strong impression, and have seemed a national trait, on the Continent. One of my trunks broke loose, and while the postilion was trying to fasten it with the cord he had, a decent man stepped out of his shop, asked if he would not be the better for another piece of cord, and immediately brought one out. Before I had recovered my surprise the postilion had said, “Thank you, sir, I am very much obliged to you,” and the man was gone. Another thing struck me: in Italy the walls are covered with opera bills and *Invito Sacros*; in France among innumerable judicial sales the characteristic thing, compared to Italy, was the list of the jurors stuck up everywhere; here, the freeholders of Kent are called on to meet, or to do something of a public nature, and “No Popery” (a melancholy specimen of the public voice) is scrawled with chalk upon the walls.

‘The country at first was like France, little better enclosed, and no better wooded. Afterwards it became strikingly better in both respects, and a wide plain, seen to the right of the road, was the richest thing I have seen for some time. Barham Downs, on the other hand, presented a slip seemingly narrow to the right of the road, which was unenclosed and uncultivated, but laid down in grass, and quite green. I saw some hop-fields, marked at this season by the poles only. Everything here is as far advanced as at Paris; there are far fewer fruit-trees than in France, and much fewer primroses and other flowers than in Italy or Switzerland. The roads were admirable, though somewhat hilly, being smooth and solid without seeming too hard. The driving, which did not seem rapid, was seven miles an hour, and one pair of horses went the sixteen miles. We met an astonishing number of diligences, and an equal number of gigs, but scarcely one private close carriage. The villages were very small, and I saw few or no single farmhouses. Some of the houses were of wood, several with tiles used for the walls, as slates are in France; one or two of tiles shaped like scales,

such as I noticed in Switzerland; and many of unshapen flints and mortar, often with a brick front; a few were thatched, but all much more comfortable than those in France: none were of lath and clay. There was a considerable number of gentlemen's houses, with trees and grounds about them, but none so elegant as those about Geneva. In one I observed the notification—peculiar, I believe, to our country—of “Man-traps and spring guns.” The country people were neither better looking nor better dressed than those of France (if so good in either respect). Their white frocks showed the dirt more than the blue ones in France.

‘There is a view of Canterbury from a height like Amiens. The town does not seem near so big, and the cathedral far inferior, and scarcely equal to Sens. The neatness of the town on entering it is most striking. The shops are excellent; Venetian blinds are not uncommon to the windows; the pavement is as rough as in France.

‘The inn was like the very best in France, but has sashed windows, well-closed doors, and neatly carpeted floors. The coal fire is a novelty, and the highly finished tongs, accompanied with a poker and shovel and a fender, are also novelties: the want of bellows, which are universal on the Continent, is not so laudable. The dinner was well served, and would have been excellent if everything had not been spoiled by a profusion of pepper, as Flahault warned me would be the case in England. The bill was 1*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.*’

RICHMOND.

‘*May* 3 (written in London, *May* 4).—I went about half-past six to the cathedral, and unexpectedly found it visible. A woman showed it, very superior in knowledge of history, &c., to any Continental *concierge* or *guardiano*. The interior was beautiful: the nave has tall, slender, clustered pillars, and has the finest effect, though lately scraped, and white in consequence. The choir is more ancient, and heavier. The stained glass windows are very rich. The tomb of the Black Prince (with a shield, helmet, and other armour hung over it) and that of

Henry IV. were interesting, but still more so was the site of Becket's tomb, where Henry II. did penance, and Lewis the Young lay prostrate, but the last derives its superiority from a very different source, the inimitable pilgrims of the "Tabard," whom I could fancy ascending the steps worn with the feet of innumerable votaries. The stone seat, said to be the throne of the kings of Kent, had its interest; and the solemnity and beauty of the cloisters round the court adjoining to the cathedral surpassed any I have seen of equal extent—indeed, all but those of Pisa. There is a burying-ground in the court here too. The chapter-house (*Sacrestia*?) was also shown.

'I was off for town before seven. It is difficult to preserve my impartiality in comparing this country with France, for I look on everything here with an eye of affection, and my heart warms at a finger-post "To London," or anything that reminds me I am at home. Every sort of association, from the Edwards and Henrys, Hampden and Sidney, down to Tom Jones and Parson Adams, and almost all the poetical descriptions in our language (which, with all my own pictures of happiness while away, took their colour from this country), combine to heighten the real charms of the rich and beautiful landscape. The drive from Canterbury to London was probably the pleasantest part of my journey from India. From the first I was struck with the indescribable neatness of the little villas (or cottages) on the road-side, with their little gardens, and also with the fine varied, enclosed, and wooded country on each side; but from a hill over Boughton (under Blee?) an extensive prospect opened, and quite enchanted me. From the midst of farmhouses and orchards in blossom I looked over a plain of unrivalled beauty, and saw the Thames on my right move majestically to his junction with the sea. This stream was below me on the right all the way to London. In most places it looked larger than any river I have seen since the Nile, and in the rich and lovely country on its banks, neither the Nile nor any river I ever saw would bear a moment's comparison with it.

"*Nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus.*"

‘When I first saw it, there was scarcely a ship in sight, but Drake’s triumphal entrance, and countless navies since his time, were there in imagination. Before Gravesend many large ships were moving about, and the Thames at times was almost crowded with them before I got to London.

‘The fields were sprinkled with white and yellow daisies, and a white and lilac flower were commonest. On the banks were primroses and blue and purple flowers, quite as plentiful as in Italy or Switzerland; and the furze in flower made a splendid show; under all the hedges it was—

“Maye with all hire flowers and hire grene.”

What astonished me most was the comfort of the people; every cottage was neat and finished, with geraniums in the windows, and often a little garden in front. Some few were of wooden frames, with lath or clay and mortar, and one or two looked just like those in France, but in general they were more like cottages at the Petit Trianon than the meanness of real life; indeed, the whole country looks as if it were put in order for some grand holiday, and everything unpleasant put out of sight. The only disappointment is where one would least wish it, in the appearance of the people. We are certainly not better looking than the French, and I doubt if the lower orders are even so well dressed. They have none of the ruddy appearance I expected, and those who are even approaching to the middle age look haggard and worn. I passed Faversham, a little red-tiled town, with a small but handsome steeple on the Milan plan. This is the town where James II. was seized in making his escape.

‘Chatham (at least the lower part of it to the right of the road) has a mean appearance, from the red bricks and tiles of which it is constructed. The houses close to the road, however, were elegant, and there are some fine white buildings further off over the river. There are also large sheds for ships.

‘Vast numbers of well-dressed people were going to church, but the common people in the usual dirty and bad clothes.

‘Rochester is an old and mean town, with a handsome stone

bridge over the Medway about four hundred yards broad. The sign of the "Falstaff" at the head of Gad's Hill prevents one forgetting the "gorbellied knaves," and the "men in buckram." The knight is still to be seen, though, in general, painted signs are disused, and the name remains without the figure.

'Gravesend brought old and now painful recollections. The view from Shooter's Hill on all sides was beyond description. The country on the left was indeed for the whole way as fine as that I have mentioned on the Thames, and though so enclosed was not the least confined. London was first seen from hence. Its vast extent was veiled in smoke, but Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, and other steeples served as landmarks. St. Paul's, perhaps magnified through the smoke, looked much higher than St. Peter's, and—what I did not expect—more slender.

'I passed Blackheath, a green, with handsome and regular houses joined by colonnades on one part, and buildings of different kinds and Greenwich Park wall on most of the other sides. From Blackheath, though there were few coaches and chaises, the number of horsemen and gigs, and well-dressed people on foot was beyond all calculation. Among the greatest wonders are the stage-coaches, from their number, the excellence of the horses, and of the whole turn-out, and the well-dressed people that cluster like bees over the tops.

'Before I leave the country, I must say that the woods, like those in France, are low copse, and not forests, but here they are irregular, not in rows. From Greenwich is a continued line of handsome houses with little gardens in front, the road lighted by gas; after a long continuance of this the footway begins to be flagged, the gardens disappear, and the suburb merges in the city.

'I had no notion where I was till I came on Westminster Bridge; from that to Charing Cross was little altered, but from Pall Mall everything was new. There is nothing in Paris like Waterloo Place and Regent Street *in their way*, but they are not so magnificent in their nature as the series of palaces, places, and gardens from the Louvre to the Champs Elysées, nor will anything in London bear a comparison with that part of Paris.

On the other hand, London seems boundless in extent compared to Paris, and every part has the same degree of wealth and magnificence. I found none of the mean appearance of the brick houses that used to strike me of old on coming from Scotland. St. Paul's, which I have since seen, looks small from the front, but from the angle towards the India House it still surpasses St. Peter's. Inside it falls far short of St. Peter's, and gives none of the impression of awe which the other place inspires. It is a close imitation on a smaller (to *appearance* a *much* smaller) scale, and is destitute of all the richness and brilliancy which heighten the effect of St. Peter's.

'I drove to Petersham, passing the triumphal arch at Hyde Park Corner, which far surpasses that of the Carrouzel. I saw the lovely country towards Richmond, and the view from the hill, lovely even in clouds and almost rain. I slept at Richmond.'

CHAPTER XVI.

HOME LIFE, 1829-1831.

LIFE IN LONDON—A PROPOSAL TO ENTER PARLIAMENT—MEETING WITH HIS OLD GENERAL—THE SCOTTISH BORDER—EDINBURGH—VISIT TO CUMBERNAULD—JEFFREY AND SIR WALTER SCOTT—LORD LAUDERDALE—A SEASON IN LONDON—ANECDOTES—A SCOTTISH ELECTION—THE STATE OF POLITICS—AN ELECTION DURING THE REFORM CRISIS.

Φῆν', κακὰ πολλὰ παθόντ', ὀλέσαντ' ἅπα πάντας ἑταίρους,
 Ἄγνωστον πάντεσσι [τριακοστῷ] ἐνιαυτῷ
 Οἶκαδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι.¹

THE prophecy of Halitherses regarding the return of Ulysses after an absence of twenty years is prefixed by Mr. Elphinstone to the volume of his journals in which he describes the beginning of his life at home, and may be supposed to represent the feeling of isolation which he at first experienced on his arrival; for in other particulars the comparison is only partially applicable. He received a warm welcome, not merely from relatives and old friends, but from the leaders in politics, literature, and even fashion; but he did not find himself at home, and his journal is full of notes of the embarrassment he experienced in his new position. After three weeks of London life he writes:—

‘I find my way tolerably about town, and am fast getting used to all the mechanical part of life, but I am as far as ever from getting naturalised. I find the Adams, Lochs, my uncle William’s family, all that I have fancied or could wish. My relatives, with whom I am less acquainted, have received me with every kindness, and some of my most intimate Indian friends are here, besides many acquaintances; but I perceive in my situation a tendency to isolation. In India you belong

¹ *Odys.* ii. 174. I said that he would return home after (thirty) years, after enduring many trials and losing all his companions, a stranger to all.

to some knot—the officers of the staff or residency to which you belong, for instance, and have some people into whose society you are necessarily thrown. Here there is no connection. Your nearest friends and relatives are whirled away each in his own vortex, and only now and then by chance come in contact with you.

‘I do not as yet feel any of the excitement which I supposed was produced by public affairs, or by the novelties continually appearing around me; nor do I perceive much of this excitement in others. Those that have anything to do with Parliament talk politics, and those members that I have met have a great variety of conversation. I am struck also with the easy and frank way in which conversation is carried on, with far less attention to the feelings of others than in India, and with more direct regard to the essentials of every subject. Last night, for instance, Sir J. Mackintosh’s motion about Portugal was spoken of freely as a mere vehicle for a speech, without any object, the question being several times put to him what he would have done, all which he took as a matter of course.’²

‘It is in Indian society alone that I feel at home, and then only when individuals happen to be old acquaintances, while abroad, all the English I met were connected in some measure by a common pursuit. Here that is not the case, and a stranger like myself is entirely unconnected with all around him. My relatives, however, are very kind, and, when we meet, those with whom I was intimate of old are as if I had never been away.’

Mr. Elphinstone, in the preceding passages, unconsciously describes what every one, who is not whirled away in the vortex, feels in London during the height of the season. Much of his isolation was owing to temporary causes which very soon wore off. A person who lands from the Antipodes cannot find himself at home in the varied topics of local, personal, or tem-

² This remark is interlined in pencil. ‘This, however, I now (1831) think was a peculiarity, owing to the rudeness of the person who attacked Sir James. I have seldom seen the same sort of thing.’

porary interest on which conversation so often turns. In the course of a few months much of his shyness wore off. He became a member of 'the club' and of the Literary Society, and was welcomed at Holland House, besides being a subscriber to Almack's and a frequenter of the theatres and the opera. The first few weeks were passed in sight-seeing, in which he engaged with the enthusiasm of a schoolboy. One of his first walks was in the old haunts of his boyhood.

'In Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens I had tenfold pleasure from the recollections of old times. I at once recognised the walks, trees, and buildings, which in most cases are, unaltered, and explored the neighbourhood of Thompson's school, and looked into the playground where I have spent more periods of interest and enjoyment than in any one spot I have been in since.

'The greatness, magnificence, wealth, and civilisation of London continue to astonish me, and have equalled my highest expectation.'

On one occasion only did he express any disappointment:—

'*May 28.*—The House of Commons is exactly as I left it. There are three recesses on either side opened, and the extent may *perhaps* be otherwise greater than before the union; but the change is not observable. It looked less to me than formerly, and had lost all the awe and interest with which my youth, and the presence of Fox, Pitt, and all the orators of those times used to invest it. The speaking, however, was fluent and correct enough. There was little dignity, and little silence or attention; otherwise it was much better than the Chamber of Deputies, there being less form, and a more conversational manner, as with private gentlemen met to do business.'

It was not long before opportunities were offered to him of entering this assembly, and, indeed, the anticipation of friends destined him for a high place in the Government. To this, however, there were insuperable objections.

'My friends,' he writes, 'have had many reports of my being about to be employed at the head of the Board of Control. Such an opinion among Indians, raised as it is without the

slightest shadow of foundation, is flattering, and is so far pleasant; but the reality would give me no pleasure, and the offer would be declined without hesitation. The knowledge that I can neither speak in public nor in private, and that by attempting public life in England I should only lose the little character I have gained, has induced me also to decline overtures for an attempt to bring me into Parliament, and satisfy me that I must go on, as I intended, trusting to my own resources for occupation.'

The proposal had been made that he should stand for the county of Lanark, in which his family had property, and on the borders of which was the family residence of Cumbernauld. This overture was in the first instance rejected; but the Duke of Hamilton, whose brother had represented the county for many years, pressed the subject on him again, and I have a memorandum of a long conversation with him, in which Mr. Elphinstone was earnestly pressed not to decide hastily, but to visit the county and form his own opinion of the prospect of success. His repugnance to engage in the contest is stated succinctly at the beginning of the interview, and remained unchanged to the last. 'I stated my difficulties. I had been so short a time here that I had no clear political views. I could not speak, and I could not canvass; I therefore thought the thing out of the question.'

At the pressing instance of the Duke the matter stood over for a time. The subject was renewed the same evening at the house of his friend Mr. Adam, where he met at dinner Sir James Graham, who held a vote for the county.

'This evening I dined at Mr. Adams's with Mr. Brougham, Lord J. Russell, Sir J. Graham of Netherby, Mr. Kennedy, and James Loch. I hardly opened my lips, but I listened with much pleasure to the conversation. Brougham was quite easy and unaffected, and told some interesting things about the Queen's trial. He was not on speaking terms with her when she arrived. Her exclamation and flight on the appearance of Majocchi was the result of anger and disgust, not fear. She had an absolute horror of the public appearances and reception

of mobs which she had to go through. Brougham thought the case hopeless at first. He said, and all agreed, that they never thought England in real danger but then. Lord John is a hearty, pleasant man, quite unpretending, but not at all shy. I had a long conversation with Sir James Graham, as I had with the Duke of Hamilton in the forenoon about Lanarkshire. The offers to me are very pressing. It seems to be thought that unless Fleming or I stand, Charles Douglas will come in, and the Whigs lose the county.³ The object being, therefore, rather to keep him out than to carry objects of their own, the Hamilton party would put no restraints on their member, and being well with the Duke of Wellington would (Sir James at least thought) be rather an advantage. This freedom is tempting, as is the proposal of helping the Whig interest and keeping up that of our family.'

I may remark on the preceding entry, that the fact of his being on terms of friendship with the Duke of Wellington, which made Sir J. Graham look on him as an eligible candidate, was in Elphinstone's case rather deterrent. In his interview with the Duke of Hamilton, his personal attachment to the Duke and his obligations to him are given as reasons for hesitation to come forward in opposition to his Government. The offer was a tempting one, as the circumstances under which he came forward would have given him a more independent position than usually fell to the lot of Scotch county members in those days; but the mode of life would have been irksome, and his diffidence in speaking in public would have made his position intolerable in an assembly where he would have been expected to take a part on all Indian questions, and where questions of the highest moment affecting India must soon come under discussion.

The question of standing for Lanarkshire was finally disposed of in an interview with Sir James Graham a few months later, during a visit to Netherby on his way to Scotland.

'*September 10.*—I had a long conversation with Sir James

³ Charles Douglas, the brother of Lord Douglas, was elected after a keen contest in the following year.

about Lanarkshire, and I think I brought him to my way of thinking. I myself am more than ever inclined, I may almost say determined, to stick entirely to private life. Parliament (if it were for a county especially) would bring many things which I know would be disagreeable to me, such as business to do, people to see, favours to solicit, explanations (though short) to ministers, to committees, and even to the House, besides late hours and confinement to town when I want to be in the country or abroad. There would also be constant anxiety for fear of being obliged, by some attack on something about India, to make a speech, and a constant feeling of hesitation from not being equal to the occasion.'

From another quarter he received overtures more in harmony with his antecedent career. In the journals kept by Lord Ellenborough during the Duke of Wellington's administration there are frequent notes of meetings with Mr. Elphinstone, and allusions to the estimation in which he was held by the Prime Minister. Among them the following:—

'Dined at the London Tavern with the Directors to meet Mr. Elphinstone, the late Governor of Bombay. He has been thirty-three years absent from England. He is one of the most distinguished servants the Company has ever had. He seems a quiet, mild, temperate man. I had some conversation with him, and have fixed that he should come to the India Board on Tuesday. I wish to have his opinion as to the expediency of governing India in the King's name.'

In the same journal there are notices of conversations with the late Governor on this and other prominent questions which occupied the public mind in anticipation of the action of Parliament, and on which Mr. Elphinstone gave evidence before the Lords' Committee in the following year.

Lord Ellenborough again writes:—

'He (the Duke) asked what I meant to do with Mountstuart Elphinstone. I considered he had left India altogether. The Duke thought he must return, that he would go to Bombay again with the expectation of afterwards going to Madras. I think the Duke has an idea of making him Governor-General.'

At last we have a note of a definite proposal.

‘Called on Elphinstone, offered him Persia. He was much obliged, but said nothing would induce him ever to go to Asia again.’

It seems strange that such a proposal was ever made. Not even an offer of the Governor-Generalship would have tempted him to return to a life of toil in an enervating climate when he had been very few months in his native country. That offer came later, and was ultimately rejected, after some hesitation. He was now in the full enjoyment of the holiday for which he had looked for thirty-three years. The feeling of isolation of which he at first complained gave way to a thorough appreciation of ‘the mixture of society and independence’ which is the characteristic of London life. If others went their way, he went his. He made the discovery, which he notes with satisfaction, that it was not so difficult to pass his evenings alone; and those evenings which were not given up to society or the theatres were devoted to long spells of reading, from eight to midnight; and so three months passed away in thorough enjoyment. Notwithstanding the warm reception he had experienced, he was quite alive to the uncertainty of his hold over his new friends; and he closes the record of his first residence in the metropolis with some remarks, dictated not less by prudence than by affection, on the expedience of placing his reliance for the future on old friends and relatives. It was from them, he says, that the most important parts of the pleasures of society were derived.

I give only two more extracts from the journal kept during his first season in London. The first in date as well as interest is the account of his first meeting with his old commander; the next is a note of some happy hours passed with his old friends the Stracheys.

‘*June 25.*—I dined with the Court of Directors, a dinner to Lord Dalhousie and Sir S. Beckwith. All the Cabinet Ministers were there; some were pointed out to me, and I met several old acquaintances. A shout in the streets announced the Duke of Wellington, and presently he entered. He looked

older, but much the same as in old times. The greatest change was in his softened and more courtly manner. I cannot describe the sensations produced in me by the sight of him. After some time I was told he was asking for me, and I went up to him. He received me as he would have done formerly, and talked for a minute or two; said among other things that he had grown old and grey since I saw him, and that he could not scamper about on horseback as he used to do then. I feel none of the shyness with him that I do with ordinary great men. After dinner he made a speech, not flowing and easy, like a practised speaker, but loud, distinct, and full of matter. He alluded to his serving the Company, and the interest he took in the Indian army. Many others spoke, several of them (Dalhousie, Beckwith, and Hill) plain soldiers, and no orators; but all with a self-possession that surprised and humiliated me by the comparison.

‘*July 11.*—I have much pleasant time to record since I last wrote. Never a day passes without my making some acquaintance, or seeing or hearing something that would interest one for a month in India: but all is rather transient; the tide of persons and things rolls on, and those once seen do not soon recur, so that neither my stock of friends nor of knowledge is very much increased. I spent two days at Shooter’s Hill. Edward Strachey and I read together his journals of our travels in 1801. The third day Sir Henry chanted passages from Saadi, delightful in themselves, and from recollections of old times. Some of them were quite new to me. Afterwards Dick and I drove to town together, and talked over the Caubul mission, Delhi, and old nautch songs, and I do not know anything I have enjoyed more than all that forenoon. Even when I was young, and in full course of enjoyment, recollections were almost always more delightful to me than actual possession.’

He now started for Scotland, with the intention of paying a tour of visits, and of then settling down for three months in Edinburgh, there to study Greek with a master; and he adds, ‘I shall always try to have some permanent study in hand besides desultory reading.’

‘September 20.—I left Netherby at twelve on September 18. Between Carlisle and Netherby, as well as between the latter and the border, I met many herds and flocks, with shepherds and collies. I entered Scotland without being aware of it, and proceeded along that beautiful stream of the Esk, and its woody, sometimes rocky banks. On leaving Eskdale we entered high, bold, smooth, and literally green hills, covered with white sheep. In the hollows were houses and plantations, chiefly fir. I passed Gilnockie, a little ruined town, much inferior to Castle Carey, and more like Banheath. As I advanced into Scotland the plantations nearly ceased; a few trees and a naked grey slated house or two, on the brook in the hollow, made the only varieties in the steep green hills. Never were two countries more strikingly different than England and Scotland; and the habitations, and all that depends on the care of the inhabitants, are even more different. At first the better sort of cottages (and all along, to a certain degree, the more decent houses) have creepers and rose bushes, as in England, though not perhaps with so great an air of neatness; but the small cottages never have anything of the sort, and a great many even of the good slated houses are quite naked and unadorned. The small cottages, indeed, are mere thatched hovels, with a peat stack before the door, and loose peats tumbling about, sometimes a little dunghill into the bargain; filth and neglect up to the door. The villages are little better; there is the same filth about them that one sees in France and Italy, but never in England. The houses outside are at least as bad as in France; but, as far as I could see from the door, had much less neatness and comfort within. Langholm is a poor, wretched-looking village, though as neat as whitewashing can make it. It is far behind anything in the south. Most of the houses in villages are thatched. In all small houses they have a way of glazing the windows with scraps and fragments of glass, which adds to the untidy appearance; but everything looks slovenly. The thatched roofs are broken, the houses out of repair, the bushes, where there are any near them, ragged and choked with grass. In short, everything seems to have stopped where I left it

thirty-six years ago, and to have done nothing but decay ever since. It is not the bareness and sterility of the country I complain of, but the absence of all endeavour to make the most of it, and of all care for comfort, for neatness, even for decent cleanliness. What makes all this the more surprising is that the people of both sexes are nowise distinguishable from those of England. They are quite as good-looking, if anything better dressed; but in fact exactly the same in appearance. If there is a difference, grey coats are commoner, Highland bonnets more worn; and grey plaids, sometimes even over decent clothes, like those of a tradesman in London. Yet the same slatternly, barbarous style runs through everything. The turnpikes have posts of loose stones, and unpainted broken gates. The milestones are little fragments of slate stone, with a figure scratched on them. The roads are certainly good (except that they are hilly), but very little use seems to be made of them. I remarked in France the very small number of carriages besides the diligences. In England, though the stages were extremely numerous, I have found the private carriages much less so than I expected. In Scotland (on this road at least) there are none of either description.'

The description of Edinburgh occupies many pages. He was astonished at the beauty and magnificence of the city, and is enthusiastic in his description of the streets and the surroundings of the romantic town. But, above all, the Castle. As he approached it, everything reminded him of old times.

'The water house, which I had forgotten, is just as I first saw it when an old Highland soldier in a red jacket brought water in a barrel to the Castle. The Castle Hill is improved, but many things just the same—the palisades, those before which I used to pace at night, while the sergeant went for the key during the alarms in 1792–3.'

In the interior were some great changes, but a host of things remained as he left them.

'Then innumerable little particulars, including numberless passages above and below ground, from one part of the works to another, and hundreds of other things stood exactly as I left

them, and struck me as if I had seen them yesterday. At the storehouses near the gate I could fancy I saw William Higgins, with his round paunch, red face, and complete suit of brown cloth and metal buttons. Lizzie, his wife, would have been seen in the house; Christie and the other maid, though belonging to later times, were not so fresh in my memory. It was of old times when I was a child, and when my father and mother were there, that I thought.'

The account of Edinburgh concludes with the following remarks:—

'The most remarkable thing in Edinburgh for a great part of the day was that it was as deserted as Venice. Not a soul moving through all these streets and squares, although all are in perfect order, and new ones rising all round. At one, however, the kirk was scaling, and the streets were crowded with well-dressed people (for here, on a Sunday at least, there seem absolutely no poor); but there seem no rich either, for all are pedestrians, and at any time a carriage rolling half a mile up a long street would make one look round. All the houses are shut up too, and everybody is out of town. Of the names on the doors some are doctors, and at least one-third of the rest are advocates. How are they employed? and how is this immense and rapidly increasing city of palaces peopled? Amidst all the glories of Edinburgh the constant and disgraceful reproach of the dirtiness of the streets still remains in a considerable degree. Why do not the magistrates by one exertion put down this abomination? The people in most respects are exactly like the English, but as Highland bonnets have gained since my time in the country, Lowland ones have in the town. The broad Scotch also constantly strikes one's ear, and often makes me laugh. The people speak with a whining tone, as if they were going to cry, but, to my accustomed ear at least, it is not disagreeable.

'*Cumbernauld, September 28.*—I now consider my travels as completed, having returned to the place from whence I set out, after an absence of thirty-five years. I started from Cardross with Keith, saw the beautiful grounds of Touch, and

thought of poor old Seton. I stopped an hour or so with Mrs. Graham and the Miss Erskines at Gartur, a very elegant little place, and thence proceeded by Denny to this place. I passed the Carron close under Herbertshire with many thoughts of old times, and so on by a road I had never much travelled, and did not well remember, to the canal, which I crossed by the lock, now called Castle Carey. I went over the Red Burn bridge up the Red Burn brae, which I had forgotten, saw Castle Carey, looking far less baronial than I had fancied, and Denis Wood, still pretty; after which a narrow strip of wood in the hollow separated me from a bare country on the opposite side, and the general appearance of the country was bare until I reached the inn, from which I saw the house across the woods much nearer than I had imagined. I soon set off on a walk in that direction, and first came to a turning off of the road which for a time quite puzzled me, till I found out that it was the new road to Carlisle, stretching right across the Brickwell meadow. I passed it, and found the end of the village, and the old avenue by which I went to the house. The limes and Huntingdon willows looked small to my recollection of them, and the garden wall infinitely shorter than I supposed. The planes at the foot of it, however, and most of the other trees came fully up to my recollection, as most *natural* objects have done throughout the day. The burn perhaps was less than I thought it, and Bell's bank and Bell's side had a deserted and neglected appearance that was melancholy. I looked over the garden wall in one place, and saw the old walks and the two large fir trees, all somewhat diminished in size; and further on I looked over again, and saw, instead of a garden, an open field and a man riding a work horse through it. All hereabouts was bewildering and depressing; everything was altered, and all for the worse—walls fallen down, garden turned into fields, smooth lawns broken in on by the sinking of lime pits, and retired walks ploughed through by public cart roads. At last I reached the head of Robert's Road, and wound through the woods by the old path, which is quite unaltered. The site of the moss house stands as I left it; there is still a bridge at the old place,

and I recognised the place where the barrel house stood in which once I left Gray's poems till they were spoilt by the rain. The moat is there, and the larch I planted, now a tall tree. From this towards the house it was a puzzle. The moat door with the lilacs and nightshades on one side, the cherry tree, the strawberry beds, the low wall and privet hedge, the high wall by the pigeon-house, and the pigeon-house itself are all gone; a well, covered with boards, marks the hawk's-house well, once sunk in a hollow surrounded with old buildings; no trace remains of the drain from it, the Volary, Mount Palm, or the Palace of Waters. The Scotch fir still stands on the hill, the lowness of which surprised me. The wild cherry trees, where the swing was, the two tall larches, now misshapen and old, the holly and horse-chestnut are just where they formerly were, but the green platform raised above the garden, on which the house stood, is now sloped off, so as not to be perceivable; the bank at the base of the walls of the house on the sides is also removed, and doors are made in places, on both sides, where formerly were only half-windows. The yew tree is gone, but the lime tree (Lady Selkirk) stands, though far less stately than I remember it. The lime trees stand, but beyond them there are huge chasms, with railways, &c., cutting off the road to the main park, &c., and throwing all into confusion. The Mains are there in front, but quite ruinous and wretched hovels they are; but still they remind me of many old stories and old faces—John Cowan and his son, John Gowans, &c. Going up to the west I recognised several trees, but missed the wild plums; the berberry hedge and the stackyards are all down, the gate and stile of the Mains park gone, the hedge stunted and naked, the road along to the Vault Glen gone, the planting between this park and Kildrum a good deal gone. I went down to the Vault Glen, the beauty of which surpasses all my impressions. Many a tranquil summer's evening work I remember there. I came back through the avenue and Belvidere; the firs are all down; their torn-up roots are there, but the beeches and other trees tall; the ground marshy, and all deserted and forlorn. The general

aspect of the place is very extraordinary—less changed perhaps than I expected, some places quite unchanged, many still very beautiful, but in others the change has been violent, affecting even the face of the country; much disorder and ruin remains, and the feeling is that of sadness and desolation. With this combine the number of the former inhabitants who are now no more, and the total and irretrievable extinction of the family circle and the society I once enjoyed there, so that the recollections were fully as painful as pleasant. On entering the house, the smallness of the vestibule and staircase astonished me. They were quite unaltered, not only in the paintings, but the clock, the moose deers' heads, and even the ostriches' eggs. The smallness of the rooms, the homely appearance of the wainscot, struck me most. I went through the whole house with many strange sensations and strong impressions of old times; many old pieces of furniture, old grates, the old horse, &c., and other things of the same sort which I had long forgotten, were there as fresh as ever. I saw several of the old books in the library, and an infinite number of pictures that I have often thought of, and more that I had never thought of, but whose faces were quite familiar. The deepest impression was made on me by my mother's bedroom. I went up to the garrets and down to the servants' rooms, which were much altered. Mr. Miller had good taste enough to give me little disturbance, so that I saw in full perfection these earliest and dearest haunts of my childhood, and enjoyed what I never shall again, the recollection of the days of my father and mother, unmixed with more recent associations. This consideration has made me write at such length the changes that struck me in Cumbernauld. Six-and-thirty years of recollections are interwoven with those details, and henceforward I shall find it difficult to distinguish the old state of things from the new. I walked home through the village, which is very little changed; but the English town dresses and Highland bonnets of the people are both new. Formerly they would have had clothes of dark or light blue, old-fashioned cut, and all one colour, and hats, or, if old men, Lowland bonnets. Now their dresses are like London, and their

heads like Lochaber. There are few signs of the improvements of the times in the village. There, as everywhere, the common people are well dressed; but I to-day saw two women dressed in silks, imitation shawls, &c., so as to be quite splendid, but displaying each an enormous pair of bare feet. The women, I think, are coarser than in England. I am at the old inn, which I remember being built, where I recollect Mr. Monteith commencing business, and where I recollect a meeting between me and Peter Hamilton in 1793 or 1794. It is a small but very comfortable inn, kept by John's old servant Gay.

'*September 29.*—In the morning I walked round by the church, which is little altered, and up to the Mains head. . . . I now went down along the burn, just visiting with some sorrow the ruins of Meg Freeland's cottage. I could not find the little cascade, that part of the Ware Park being altered by plantations, but I easily found my way to Dennis Wood House, though the bridge is gone, and all the paths obliterated. It was just what I left it, except for the decay of all that was artificial. The ruins of my mother's cottage are there still—the scene of many happy hours. I had some difficulty in finding the cascade, which I had overrated when I compared Lodore to it. Castle Carey was rather larger than I imagined. I knocked at the old knocker, made the date of . . . ,⁴ but there was nobody within. I found my carriage at the Raeburn Bridge, and came away to Edinburgh'

He settled down in Edinburgh for study after passing a few weeks in visiting friends old and new. Among other places he passed some days at Drummond Castle. The scenery is described with that enthusiastic appreciation of the beauties of nature which formed a never-failing source of enjoyment to him through life. The scene was one which no country but Scotland can afford. 'Around are woods, now in the utmost beauty from the indescribable beauty of the autumn tints, and distributed over the slopes and steep hills with the finest

⁴ Blank in the original.

possible effect. Water, rocks, and distant plains come in to great advantage, and a high chain of brown and purple mountains runs round a great part of the picture. . . . Since writing the above I have been enjoying the scenery on the top of the hill of Turlum, and admiring the fine beeches in the park. I never saw such fine trees in England, though I have seen finer tamarind and peepul trees. The climate at first was as it has been for several days, quite that of an Italian spring, bright and clear and summery, but cold enough to render exercise agreeable. In the evening the wind freshened, and was sharp: while I was up the hill a slight fall of snow began. It is very near a twelvemonth since I encountered the first sleet and snow among the passes of Mount Khelmos; but when the shower passed, and I saw the high hills capped with snow, my recollection carried me to a similar appearance of the Throne of Solimaun and to the associations of the Indus and the Khauki Khorasaun. These vivid recollections of old times and other pleasing thoughts that I often enjoy on my solitary walks, together with the pleasure of reading, are a full indemnity to me for the want of fitness to enjoy society. Some persons, it is true, possess both pleasures in equal perfection; but one should not repine at not belonging to that favoured few.'

The following day he went to Cardross and Blair Adam, and at the latter place he met Jeffrey for the first time.

'I arrived at about eight, and found Jeffrey and Cockburn, the former even more striking for his gaiety and good humour than for his wit. Those who have known him longest say they never heard him say an ill-natured thing. I walked for two hours with him under the awning on a rainy day. I found him quite frank and communicative. I got rid of all my awe without losing any of my respect. Mr. Cockburn has a high character for ability, and shows in company a great deal of good sense and dry humour. I dined one day with a knot of Kinross lairds, not very different in appearance and manner from those of old times.'

The only other noticeable incident that occurred before he returned to Edinburgh was a visit to Scone on the occasion of a

great ball. The supper-tables were laid out in a gallery 180 feet long, and recalled the banquet of Macbeth, of which this was the scene.

The three months of quiet study to which he had looked forward when in Edinburgh were broken in upon by visits to many hospitable mansions, and his studies advanced very slowly. He went to work with his usual energy. 'My future and happiness must in a great measure depend on my industry, I am happy to say that, although I have had no time to read since I left India, and am in consequence behind most people I meet in my acquaintance with the knowledge of the day, I have not in the least lost my taste for reading. My imagination is still excited by any prospect of a period of study, and those whom I regard with most envy are the young men, in Edinburgh especially, whom I see starting in the animating pursuit of knowledge.'

A few weeks later he writes:—

'I go on reading Plato very slowly with Mr. Robb, owing chiefly to our conversations and digressions. I have only got through about three-fifths of "Phædon" in three weeks, and with attention I ought to finish it in eight days.

'*Edinburgh, November 12.*—I have, chiefly by Mr. Murray's kindness, seen several of the Edinburgh men of talent—Pillans,⁵ Thomson, Jardine, and Macvey Napier. I found them all unaffected, without either pedantry or (the worse extreme of which I have heard them accused) frivolity. The society is, however, more literary than in London. To-day I saw Walter Scott, whom I found tall, with a round face and grey eyes, very like his pictures, with great goodness in his expression and manner, but no genius. He is mild, quiet, and rather slow in

* Professor Pillans was a former school-fellow of Mr. Elphinstone, and their first meeting during this visit to Edinburgh was at a dinner of the Friday Club (a literary reunion), and it was remarked that, with one or two exceptions, all present had been pupils of Dr. Adams, the master of the High School. Subsequently to this recognition Mr. Elphinstone applied to his friend to recommend a person for one of the professorships founded in his honour at Bombay. This incident was communicated to me by Mr. Pillans soon after Mr. Elphinstone's death.

speaking, and has a very Scotch accent. He was more lame and less old than I expected. He was condoled with on the loss of his gamekeeper and forester, an old friend, whose death he and all his acquaintance speak of quite as a family misfortune. A duel of two editors (both Whigs) was spoken of, at which he said, "They fired two shots and came home like gentlemen, and be damned to them!" and added his regret, that one was not shot and the other hanged. This was said in the same grave, quiet way as his other discourse, but, though a joke, seemed strange in so very good-natured a man.

'*December 13.*—I have seen Walter Scott twice since I mentioned him (at dinner parties). It is generally remarked that he is in low spirits, owing to the sickness of several members of his family; and he certainly has no appearance of a great flow of spirits; but he talked a good deal, and told many stories, and on those occasions certainly looked very different from what I before described him; for though he does not alter his voice or manner when he is interested, his countenance brightens extremely, and his eye kindles in a way that leaves a strong impression. But still, unaffected simplicity and good nature are the predominant characteristics of his expression. There never was a stronger contradiction of the proverb that "no man is a prophet in his own country" than he affords. Even in London his works are a sure topic of conversation when all others fail; but here he is himself equally often the subject of conversation, and never is spoken of but in the highest terms of praise. One frequent remark is that those who have known him all his life have never observed the slightest change in him in any respect, from the time when he was unknown, throughout the whole course of his fame and popularity.'

'*January 17.*—Yesterday I dined with Mr. Jeffrey. After dinner three or four gentlemen remained by the fire before joining the ladies, and the conversation was about proposing some members for the new club, and the certainty of some being elected. Among these was Sir Walter Scott, and the conversation turning to that subject, Jeffrey spoke of him as he

always does, and said, "We live too near Scott to see all his greatness. I often think what will be thought when the young men of the present day give accounts of him hereafter. They will never be able to make people understand how perfectly natural and unpretending he is, how little he is affected by all he has done and all that has been said of him." He said a good deal more in this way, pointing out the striking points of Scott's character, that all his high enjoyments had not blunted his relish for homely pleasures and ordinary society; and that he took as much delight in the good humour and indifferent jokes of a border laird as if he had never been acquainted with anything more exciting, instead of having been courted by every one that was great or agreeable in the world. While Jeffrey was descanting on the little importance that really great men seemed to attach to their own performances, I could not help applying his observation to himself, who spoke on the subject with as little either of presumption or of affected modesty as if he had himself been a perfectly obscure person. All one hears of the great wits of the age increases one's admiration of their feelings towards each other. Mrs. Jeffrey told me at dinner that Moore (Jeffrey's old antagonist in a duel) had spent a week or ten days with them at Craig Crook, and was the most pleasant and best humoured man she had ever met with; and, in talking of the life of Lord Byron, she lamented that Jeffrey had lost two or three letters from that nobleman, as remarkable for their kindness and good feeling as for their interest in other respects.

'*January 24.*—I am to leave Edinburgh to-morrow, and do so with the most favourable impressions of it and of Scotland. There is a frankness and a facility of getting acquainted with people here, very different from London, and this arises from circumstances, not from the national character; for it was as striking in Mrs. J. Murray, Mrs. Sinclair, and other English, as in the Scotch. The fashion of the society is very pleasant, and it is rather intellectual without being in the least pedantic. There is no high aristocratic society, either, to throw the ordinary society into the shade.'

On leaving Edinburgh he visited his old tutor Mr. Stark, and then proceeded to Lord Lauderdale's mansion.

'*January 27.*—Lord Lauderdale's house stands close to the town, and is inside a very handsome and comfortable one, with a vast number of Canalettos. Besides Lord and Lady Belhaven, there were Lord Maitland, Captain Anthony Maitland, Mr. Hope, and one or two others. Lord L. is very communicative. He told me that so far from Fox and he drawing out all the instructions for the embassy together, Fox never wrote any of his instructions, and did little business after he was ill. When he went to take leave of Fox, Fox sent Mrs. F. out of the room, and said (alluding perhaps to some previous conversation), "Well, do you think it will do?" Lord L. said, "Most certainly not." F. "Then you think I shall die?" Lord L. "No, I meant the negotiation for peace." F. "No, no, of course that will not do, but I meant the plan of tapping me for the dropsy." He talked a good deal of his negotiation. Clark tried to bully him, and when he first delivered a strong note, told him he might depend on it that his person was safe, though he had thought proper to use such unprecedented language to the Emperor. He also mentioned that on his return from Calais to Paris, in the end of 1792, Brissot told him he was sure of a majority of 150 votes for an appeal to the people on the King's fate, which would have saved him; but when it came to the vote, his partisans were intimidated by the populace, especially the Marseillais and other *fédérés*. Lord L. dined with Le Brun and the Ministers on the day of (I believe) the final note about the King's fate. News was brought that it was going against him, and the company seemed to feel that their own fate also was sealed. All were blank and cast down. Dumourier was the only one who attempted to talk and keep up a show of good spirits.'

Mr. Elphinstone now returned to London. His second season was, like the first, one of intellectual dissipation. He continued to receive a warm welcome from his friends, new and old, and his life passed away pleasantly as before. He could not but feel how ephemeral was this enjoyment, and he

entered on it with the same sober estimate of its nature as he had noted down six months before.

'*February 5.*—I came into London. The vast number of people, the inexhaustible number of new faces, even in the class of gentlemen and ladies, and the infinite variety of shops are so striking, after Edinburgh, that I felt on coming here a sort of depression. This is more my home than any other place; yet how few intimates I have here! and, even with them, how little intercourse does the routine of a London life permit! In Edinburgh there is but one society, and you often meet the same people, and know and are known to many; here you and your friend are drops in the ocean, and may be separated by whole floods from each other and lost in the expanse of waters.'

For several weeks after his return to London he was much engaged in preparing to give evidence before the committee of the House of Lords. It did not prove so formidable as he expected. In fact, he remarked, it was as like a conversation at table as it could be; and this remark is borne out by the evidence itself. Nearly every topic of importance bearing on Indian administration is touched upon, but nothing very deeply. He was questioned about the system of land revenue, the police, and judicial administration, and on the last topic urged his views on the necessity of a civil code of law. The evidence ranges over the question of the free ingress of English to India, the education of the natives, and the training of public servants for Indian service, and many matters of administration, besides touching on the larger question of the advantages and evils to India that have resulted from the conquest of the continent. But nothing was pressed home, and after answering some 400 questions of this varied character, he was courteously dismissed.

In giving the following extracts from the journals of the next two years, I should preface them by saying that the writer, after passing the spring and summer of 1830 in London, went to Scotland to take a part in the general election, consequent on the death of the King, and after a tour of visits in the north of Scotland he again visited Edinburgh, returning to London early in 1831. He was summoned back to the north again to

record his vote on the dissolution of Parliament during the Reform crisis, and soon after his return he started for the Continent, and passed the winter at Rome.

February 15.—I have begun Sir T. Munro's life, and am quite enchanted with it. It cannot fail to delight even those who had previously no interest in the subject. It is almost all made up of his own letters, which have fortunately been preserved, and which show that his judgment and sagacity at nineteen were as superior to those of ordinary people as they were to those of his contemporaries when his reputation was more extensive. They also most fortunately disclose the many accomplishments which were concealed by his modesty, and that delicacy of taste and tenderness of feeling which lay hid under his plain and somewhat stern demeanour.

March 8.—Last night I saw Kean in "Henry V." The play has no story and no incident, and acts ill. Kean showed no sort of animation, and left out half his part, and blundered a good deal of the rest. His first appearance was received with loud and long applause. His failures were borne with patience; but he made the audience wait half an hour before the curtain rose for the fifth act. This led to a perfect O. P. clamour, and nobody could be heard till Kean came forward, and with matchless impudence spoke of now for the first time incurring the displeasure of the public. He concluded with appealing to them as his countrymen, and striking his breast; this seemed just suited for the capacities of his audience, and brought down loud applause.

May 11.—I dined at Sir J. Shelley's with the Duke of Wellington, Lord and Lady Willoughby, Lord Clare, Mr. W. Banks, Mr. Lushington, and Mr. Arbuthnot from the Cape. The Duke first talked to me separately about the Indian question and the troubles of the Bengal army as freely as if he were a mere spectator. Afterwards at table he began to talk about old campaigns in India, remembering every name and every particular in the most astonishing manner. He mentioned his marching seventy-two miles to surprise the banditti at Mankaisar. In answer to a question he said they never did

things like that here; but praised the French for marching, saying they were very good at double marches, doing thirty miles a day, fifteen at a time, with some hours' halt between, and that they would carry it on for ten or twelve days. He said their soldiers were heavier loaded than ours, carrying seven days' biscuit, while ours never carried more than three. His manner is so perfectly simple and frank that one feels no sort of awe or restraint with him, and everybody seems to speak with the same freedom to him. I never saw any great man treated with so little ceremony, and yet, besides being Prime Minister, he is the man that beat Buonaparte and saved the nation. The only peculiarity was that the young people called him "Sir," which sounded rather royal.

'*May 20.*—Yesterday while at breakfast I received a note from Anne Elphinstone to go with her to hear Dr. Chalmers. We walked up to Pentonville and other places till it was time for the sermon. The doctor's figure, manner, voice, and accent are abominable, but his sermon was full of good sense and good feeling, with much imagination and beautiful language. It was delivered with an appearance of sincerity and earnestness that quite carried me along, and produced not only admiration, but enthusiasm. In the evening I dined at Sir G. Phillips', where the subject was talked of, and Mr. Sydney Smith turned Chalmers into ridicule, admitting his good language, but pronouncing him unintelligible and insufferably tedious; most others thought differently. Mr. Smith himself showed off more than at Holland House, giving way on one occasion to his spirits, and keeping the whole company for a long time in a roar with a succession of jokes on the butler breaking a bottle in drawing the stopper. In general, however, though witty, he was quiet, and often he was even serious. His fault is that in general he depreciates those he mentions, and is rather good-humoured than good-natured.⁶ Among other strange instances of unfavourable judgment, he said of Hallam's "*Middle Ages*" it was a book everybody determined to read, but none ever did read.

⁶ On further acquaintance I do not think so at all.

'*July 12.*—I dined at Mr. Rogers's. There were the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, Lord and Lady Lansdowne, Lord and Lady Holland, Sir W. Grant, Lord Essex, Mr. Fulk, the Netherlands Ambassador, and (who interested me more even than Sir W. Grant, whom I had not seen before) old Jack Bannister. I had a notion he was dead, and I had scarcely heard of him since the old days of the "Children of the Wood." There he was, old but gay, delighting us by his old anecdotes and criticisms, and imitations of famous actors, as well as by some songs. He mentioned that his first appearance was in "The Apprentice," then "Zafna," and four other tragic parts, Garrick dissuading his attempting comedy so soon. At last the "Critic" came out, and Don Ferdinando Whiskerandos fixed his line. Several of the company, especially Lord Essex, remembered Garrick well, and spoke of him excelling every other actor more than any other person ever did those of his line.

'*July 22.*—Yesterday I went to the levee.⁷ It was a mourning court, but the number of uniforms, especially naval ones, took away everything like a gloomy appearance. The crowding of the place was like the entrance of the pit at Kean's benefit, but it ceased on reaching the Presence Chamber, and one passed at ease through one wide street of aides-de-camp and great officers, among whom stood the King, scarcely sufficiently distinguished by his situation; for though I knew him at once, I am not sure if I should have done so had I been less familiar with his picture. Observing that people bent their knee but little on kissing his hand, I scarcely bent mine at all. The lord in waiting had some difficulty in making out my name. When he succeeded the King called out, "Oh, to be sure, a person I have been very desirous to see.—I must have some private conversation with you; I hope I shall see you often." I made a bow at each speech, and had withdrawn by the end.'

Parliament was dissolved in July, and early in the following month Mr. Elphinstone started with his brother, Admiral Fleming, to take part in the elections. Here is an account of

⁷ The first levee of William IV. George IV. died on June 26 of the same year.

a county election in Scotland in the old time. It must be borne in mind that the qualification of a county voter, as fixed by a Scotch statute of 1681, was nominally the same as that of England, a forty-shilling franchise; but this was limited by a provision in an Act of George II., which made it a condition that nobody should be entitled to vote unless the old extent of the lands was proved by a retour of his lands prior to 1681. Where there was no such retour the qualification was the being rated in the valuation books of the county at 400*l.* Scots of valued rent. With this limited qualification votes acquired a fictitious value, and where party spirit ran high large sums were paid for a property carrying the right, though the value might be nominal.

The first part of the entry I am about to quote describes the journey to Scotland with his brother, Admiral Fleming, and a visit to the spinning mills that were erected in the town of Lanark by Mr. Owen in partnership with some gentlemen who desired to carry out some of his educational schemes. On approaching the scene of political contest Mr. Elphinstone experienced a momentary feeling of regret that he was not a principal in it. This soon passed away. 'The feeling,' he remarked, 'was only momentary. I soon remembered that it is not to *be* in Parliament that is desirable, but so to conduct oneself as to be eminent and useful. If nature and my previous habits had qualified me to be a speaker, there is nothing I should so much have valued as to shine in that career—*Μύθων τε ῥητὴρ πρῆκτῆρ δὲ ἔργων*—but not possessing that talent, the last of my wishes is to be placed in a situation where I should daily be obliged to show and feel the want of it.'

'*Edinburgh, August 21.*—This was the first Scotch election I ever saw. Both parties were at one inn, but had separate rooms, where such electors of each side as had arrived dined. Most of ours were homely sort of people, some of them little lairds, and some writers. We were very silent till claret opened the mouths of the company; they were then cheerful, but with no party zeal.

'Next day we went to the church, where a place was

railed off for the freeholders, about 180 in number. The rest was filled with country people, so decently dressed and well behaved, that one felt ashamed that they were not voting, instead of such freeholders as I and my next neighbour, Sir James Graham. His land is all in Cumberland, for which he is deservedly member, and I have none anywhere. The election was severely contested; some voters came from France, and others were stopped by the trouble there, among whom was Sir Charles Lamb, a Sussex gentleman, whose freehold in Lanark is of the same kind with mine. The parties sat on opposite sides. Much time was lost in calling the roll when some votes were protested against. One party then proposed Campbell of Blytheswood for preses and one other, Fleming. Their party had the majority, and this was considered as decisive of the election. Several people paired off and went away, among whom were Fleming and I; the rest stayed to vote and dine. Both before and after our departure there were speeches, but of course with no hope of moving the freeholders, all of whom came determined and pledged to vote for a particular candidate. The people took much interest in what was going on, and felt strongly for our adversary, owing probably to the long time for which the Duke of Hamilton has maintained his ascendancy; thus the cause of the Douglasses becomes that of independence. The Dumbarton election was carried on nearly in the same way, but there the contest was closer, and the nomination of Fleming to be preses was lost by the casting vote of his rival, who was the oldest freeholder and last member of Parliament. There was perhaps more party-spirit than at Lanark, but no bitterness, and at the dinner a deputation headed by Mr. Douglas (the successful candidate for Lanarkshire) came from the opposite party to say that they had just drunk our candidate's health, and to express their anxiety that differences in politics should not disturb the private friendship of all parties. This is always the custom at Scotch elections, and was done in good style. The deputation was received with great respect and cordiality, and Lord W. Graham's health drunk with loud cheers. Our candidate, Mr. Colquhoun, showed great talent for public speaking,

though his anxiety to avoid touching on any topic that might commit him led him to dwell too long on the subjects which he had on full examination decided to be safe.

‘It is true I was chiefly among the voting party who are naturally most inclined to reform, but still, as it is against their interest, it is remarkable that I did not meet one who did not speak of the system of Scotch elections as absurd and disgraceful. The best remedy I have heard suggested is to leave the present electors, and add all who had land yielding 20*l.* a year. This would still be a very high qualification.

‘*November 19.*—Yesterday I went to Musselburgh to see Johnny Fleming, and on my return I found the club in a bustle from the news of the Duke of Wellington’s resignation, in consequence of being in a minority on the Civil List. The sentiments expressed were neither those of satisfaction nor regret, but of wonder who would succeed, and of anxiety as to the result and of the unsettled state of the nation. Even this feeling, however, is much less deep and serious than one would expect. A year ago we all thought, what would become of us if the Duke of Wellington were to die? Since then the French Revolution has unsettled Europe; the affairs of Belgium hold out the chance of war; Ireland is again disaffected; and strong inclinations to change, with formidable combinations for effecting it, appear at home; and, amidst all these difficulties, we have not only lost the Duke of Wellington, but have done so in a way that destroys our confidence in his ability, and greatly diminishes our reliance on all public men for the qualities requisite to carry us through this crisis. The first expectations that present themselves for the future are that the Whig Ministry, which we may suppose will be formed, will be embarrassed by its pledge in favour of retrenchment, which to any great extent is impracticable; and of reform, which beyond due limits would be perilous in the extreme. Many well-intentioned but ill-informed persons, who may favour it at first, will be driven by this to join the Radicals, to whom the Whigs are always objects of detestation. The Ministry will sink, and with it all confidence in moderate reformers; power

will either pass directly into the hands of violent reformers, or will come to them with more tumult and danger after having been for a time entrusted to ultra-Tories. Universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and the destruction of the constitution by the preponderance of the Democracy, might be expected to follow, and to be accompanied by the annulment of the national debt, seizure of the Church revenues, and by other revolutionary measures. From the extremity of those evils the good sense of the English people and their attachment to the Constitution will probably protect us; and the appearance of a man of commanding talents among our leaders, or some other unexpected piece of good luck, may save us even from the lower degrees of danger. No contingency can render it wise or safe to withhold reform, or to delay making the necessary alterations in parts of the Constitution, while there is still sufficient attachment to the whole to prevent its being subverted during the operation.

‘*November 30.*—I dined at home last night, and was led by the resemblance between our present state and that of the Romans during the last century of the republic to look into their history. The comparison is certainly instructive. Very unequal distribution of property, especially of land, was borne by them as by us, until it reached a height which rendered the condition of the lower orders insupportable, and until the practice of employing foreign slaves in cultivation deprived the common people of all means of earning a subsistence. When once driven to despair they became unreasonable, and not only insisted on a more democratic constitution, but demanded a new division of the lands. This was the state of things in the time of the Gracchi. The senate warded off that danger by prudent concession. They employed the elder Drusus to propose grants of land, which afforded the means of livelihood to the starving commoners; but they pushed their advantages too far by annulling several just laws that had been enacted to limit the abuse of their authority, and they also set the fatal example of employing force in civil dissensions.

‘They had now, however, from twenty to twenty-five years

of tranquillity, during which the aristocracy continued by their jobs with the public money, and the public influence abroad, by their jealousy of new men and their *exclusive* spirit, and by their extravagant and dissolute manners, to alienate still more the public mind from their party. Meanwhile population probably increased, and new demands were made for a new distribution of lands, and for cheap corn. The violence which the senate had introduced was now employed against itself. Party disputes were changed into civil wars, and the nation was in the end subjected to the despotism of a military leader. Our present situation is not unlike that of Rome at the beginning of those disorders. What foreign slaves were in Italy, machinery is with us. Our conquered lands unluckily lie too far off to admit of such easy distribution as those given up by Drusus; but, on the other hand, we have greater means of moving, and more still of preventing a recurrence of the evil of over-population. The lessons we might learn and apply without difficulty are—1st, to retrench abuses which enrich the great at the expense of the nation; 2nd, to reform such faults in the Government as provoke them, and lead to distrust of their rulers; 3rd, to avoid disgusting them by pride, luxury, and dissolute manners; 4th, to make liberal sacrifices for their relief, and rather to give up a great deal to preserve the State than lose all, and destroy liberty and tranquillity at the same time; 5th, to avoid open force. Peterloo, like the attack on Tiberius Gracchus's mob, may restore quiet for a time, but it renders turbulent violence more sanguinary and more desperate when it recurs.'

‘*London, March 8, 1831.*—I dined at the club to-day. We sat down five: Lord Spencer, Mr. Hatchett, Mr. Marsden, Mr. Phillips, and I; but before long the Bishop of London (Blomfield), Sir J. Macintosh, and the Chancellor came in.

‘Brougham spoke much about oratory and famous orators, and mentioned his own practice of composing passages in his head (once a passage that took three-quarters of an hour to deliver), and polishing and connecting them without commit-

ting them to writing. If he writes them he forgets them, and has to learn the whole again; Pitt composed in this way, walking about for two hours at a time, drinking port and water. Lord Granville writes his speech out to arrange his ideas, but never looks at the MS. again. The Bishop of London said he writes his sermons, but seldom reads them, only catching a word here and there. Brougham's versatility is astonishing. He talked on all manner of subjects easily and well, told stories good-humouredly, and ended by talking long and feelingly on Milton and Dante, the former of whom seems his favourite poet, and the latter he had gone through critically with Monti at Milan. He sat till eleven, yet he has, within this fortnight, begun those reforms of his office which have extorted the applause even of his most violent censurers, and is now in the thick of all the subjects which make this an epoch in English history. Macintosh's conversation was, as usual, delightful, and his criticisms on Milton ingenious and eloquent.

'*March 28.*—I dined last night at Lord Ellenborough's, a party to Malcolm, at which were the Duke of Wellington, Sir G. Murray ("heros ab Achille secundus"), Sir H. Hardinge, Lord Beresford, Lord Camden, and some other people distinguished for rank or talent. Malcolm rattled away precisely as he would have done at his own table at Bombay, kept everybody in good humour, though he took all the talk to himself, and really commanded my admiration for his ease and independence among a class of people for whom I know him to entertain so excessive a respect. He made no attempt to adapt his conversation to them, or please anybody but himself. The only exception to this was that he constantly went out of his way to bring me forward, and to make me as intimate with the company as he was himself. I can now account for his popularity with all people of note whom I have heard talk of him. It could never have been gained by mere courting of favour, or sustained by any one who had less frankness, good humour, and talent than Sir John.'

'*April 11.*—Last night I was introduced into the Dilet-

tanti, "with ancient rites and ceremonies due." We sat down, a party of sixteen, Mr. Wilkins in the chair, Mr. Hallam, Mr. Sotheby, Lord Hardwicke, Mr. Dawkins, &c. &c. When dinner was over the president called out loudly, "Strangers will withdraw;" on which Lord Caledon and I (new members) went into another room, where a table and wine were placed for us. After a good long interval Lord Caledon was called, and, after some time, I was summoned. Lord Dudley and Sir G. Staunton came for me, and I went in leaning on them, preceded by Colonel Leake with two candles. We were met at the door by Mr. Morritt (of Rokeby), in a crimson gown and a sort of Persian cap, with a drawn sword. He marched before us to the bottom of the table, made some loud communication to the president, and made a lunge towards him with his sword. He then walked off, and the president, who was also robed and on a high throne, with the secretary, Mr. Hamilton, in a black gown and band, on his left, called out, "Bow." We all three did so, when the whole party called out, "Lower, lower;" and we obeyed. This was thrice repeated, and I was conducted with some further ceremonies to shake hands with the president. My health was drunk with cheers, and the ceremony was finished. The room is a fine one, quite hung round with pictures of the former members, many by Sir Joshua. These strange ceremonies deserve mention, being so unlike anything now observed. The conversation was very pleasant. Mr. Hallam talked a good deal on the authenticity of early Roman history, and I had a good deal of conversation with Mr. Morritt on the progress and refinement of idolatry, especially in Egypt; with Colonel Leake on Wilkinson's discoveries in hieroglyphics; with Mr. Wilkins on the origin of the Doric order, which he traces to Phœnicia, maintaining that he has found in Solomon's temple the exact proportions and even the exact dimensions of that at Pæstum; and finally with Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Deering (Gandy) on the ruins in Ionia, Branchidæ, &c. We did not break up till half-past eleven.'

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'April 26.—Though this is a period of uncommon excite-

ment, its effects are not greater than is pleasant. Everybody discusses reform, but in private society everybody discusses it with perfect good humour; rage and riot are confined to the two Houses of Parliament. Mr. Hobhouse, who dined last night at the Raleigh, said (or his brother repeated it as his remark) that if the members of the House of Commons had had swords, or even if they had happened to have their umbrellas, there would have been a battle. I walked home from the Thatched House; the streets were crowded with spectators, owing to a grand ball at St. James's, and all seemed quiet and happy. A fine bright moon shone above, and the unusualness of the sight led me to think of the different scenes she illumined far away from this moving crowd. I have been busy packing up my books, arranging my papers, &c., and now feel, if possible, more independent than before. Even while here, I had nothing to be anxious about, and there literally was not a single thing that the King or his Ministers could do that could afford me a moment's gratification; but even now the society and the place are nothing to me; for a twelvemonth I shall be a citizen of the world, and when I return I shall take a fresh departure and begin life anew.'

Shortly after the date of the preceding entry he had to start again for Scotland to take a part in the elections that followed the dissolution of Parliament. He travelled by successive stages in the public conveyances of the day.

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'May 6.—I found this way of travelling pleasanter than posting, as I got on faster and had company. At first I had a respectable gentleman and his wife, Huntingdon people, Tories, and a yeoman from the same part, an honest, ignorant, zealous, but not factious reformer. Among my next fellow-travellers, one was an intelligent Cambridge man (perhaps in the lower department of the law), a zealous reformer, and still more zealous Evangelical, belonging to the Church, but attached to the Wesleyan Methodists and hating the Calvinists. There was also Mr. Lees, who had been long at Smyrna in Mr. Black's house, and was a very excellent companion for two days, from

his acquaintance with Asia Minor and other places (as well as persons) in the Levant, which it was pleasant to talk about. In coming into Edinburgh we had a plain, vulgar, downright citizen of Edinburgh, a violent reformer, but as violent an admirer of the King, and seemingly sincere in his eagerness to destroy abuses without injuring the Constitution. This, indeed, seemed the general feeling, the anxiety for the Bill throughout the country far surpassing what one can fancy while in London. The vulgar seemed to expect great improvement in their condition from the Bill, which they did not all understand. Our friend the yeoman asked what all this was about, disfranchising rotten boroughs, avowing that he did not understand it at all, but thought as things had been going on so ill a reform could not but make them better. Even the well-informed seemed to expect more economy from a reformed Parliament. All the zeal seems for the King, except in Northumberland, where Lord Grey is also mentioned. There were elections all the way, but all quietly conducted, except in this town, where there seems to have been a disgraceful scene of riot, though certainly not without provocation—nineteen magistrates out of thirty-three who voted having elected Mr. Dundas, in spite of a petition from 18,500 citizens in favour of Jeffrey, a majority of five thus carrying the election against the whole city.

‘*Glasgow, May 13.*—I went to Blair Adam on the 7th, and enjoyed the day in peace and quietness with that most excellent family. The weather was “between June and May,” the flowers were in great plenty, the birds sang, and I enjoyed the spring more than I have ever done yet since my return. The 9th at Freeland was almost as enjoyable. At Blair Adam I saw the old castle of Cleish, the two fine silver pines, and the long yew walk. From Freeland I went to the fine new Tudor-Gothic house of Dupplin, now nearly finished. Up to this my whole journey was a perfect party of pleasure. Business now began. I went from Freeland to Stirling, and found Fleming losing his election, and all a little alarmed about the crowds that were coming with addresses. I was present at one conversation between the heads of the parties, and saw with admiration the

temper which people can display on such occasions, and which in this country is indispensable. Lord Abercrombie, in particular, maintained his good humour and good sense, notwithstanding a good deal of provocation. I lived, slept, and walked in Athrie (Lord Abercrombie's), a beautiful place, with fine hills, crags, and woods almost within the grounds. The election opened with long processions with scarfs, banners, &c. &c., in which, among many with inscriptions, &c., I was disgusted with the sight of the French tricolour. A great crowd attended till the end of the election, and cheered Fleming, though he lost, but dispersed quietly, thanks to the good management of the gentlemen. Colonel Abercrombie made an excellent speech. We dined at Larberts (Sir Gilbert Stirling's) with Sir T. and Lady Livingstone. In the morning Fleming and I went to Cumbernauld, where I had a delightful walk among the woods. We then went to Hamilton Palace, a pile really worthy of that name. It is still unfinished. Charles Murray went with us, a lively, fine young man. At Hamilton we found Mr. J. Maxwell, Sir M. Shaw Stewart, his brother the member for Lancaster, and several other principal Whig gentlemen of the county, yet there were more *vestigia ruris* in this party than one would expect with so refined a personage as the Duke. On reaching Hamilton we found hustings erected in a meadow, and Mr. J. Maxwell and others haranguing about 10,000 people on an address to the King. As the object now ought to be to quiet rather than excite the people, I thought the whole injudicious, and the talk about the undoubted right to the franchise, which was addressed to people who have no chance of getting it, worse than nonsensical.

‘When the people were marching off, I was much struck with the old white banner of the village of Kilbryde, “For God, the King, and the Covenant”—the very flag that was borne in the battle of Bothwell Bridge.⁸ Yet the present are

⁸ Two old banners were brought out on this occasion, both of which were borne at Bothwell Bridge. I am informed, in answer to my inquiries, that the banner of East Kilbride is no longer in the village, and is supposed to be now in the United States. The banner of Strathavon, a town in the neigh-

far more interesting times, and much more important, and better in the history and character of the actors.

‘To-day we went early to Lanark with banners and processions. Before the election there was a discussion whether our party should give up dining together, so that the others, who would be exposed to popular fury, might with honour give up theirs. Fleming spoke exceedingly well, and with a generous, gentlemanly, and courteous spirit that delighted me. To my amazement, the majority of the freeholders preferred the vulgar triumph of having their dinner, and crowing over their unpopular opponents.

‘The galleries of the church were filled with the populace, who hurrahed and hooted, as they approved or otherwise the names that were called. They were less orderly than an English mob, and interrupted the business with their clamour; but the only disgraceful occurrence was that a bottom of a glass, or some such thing, was thrown at Colonel Douglas, the Tory candidate, and cut him, but not badly, behind the ear. I was shocked to see so little indignation excited by this dastardly outrage. Colonel Douglas went on with perfect coolness and good humour. I came away as soon as I was no longer wanted, little pleased with the spirit shown by the gentry, which was narrow, and as destitute of wisdom as of generosity. The people throughout the country everywhere asked anxiously the result of the election. The feeling about Reform is beyond description.’

bourhood of Drumclog, the scene of the defeat of Claverhouse by the insurgent peasantry in 1679, is carefully preserved by the Weavers' Friendly Society, and was shown to me with much reverence many years ago. I copy the following description of it from a little volume entitled *Sketches of Strathavon*, by Mary Gebbie, 1880: ‘On the right is a portion of the Bible and a quotation from the thirty-third chapter of Ezekiel, which cannot now be deciphered. Beneath is a sketch of the Scotch thistle, and in the centre are the words—

“For religion, covenant, king, and country.”’

CHAPTER XVII.

HOME LIFE (continued)—1831–1833.

ON HIS TRAVELS—WATERLOO—OPINIONS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS—NATIVE STATES AND SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM—CENTRALISATION IN INDIA—THE ARMY—A PUBLIC MEETING IN 1833—A GREAT DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SEVERAL years passed away, like the first two seasons, in quiet enjoyment of his new life. He was in no hurry to settle down, and for a time he hesitated whether to make Edinburgh or London his home. But Italy also had its attractions. He paid visits to it in the years 1831, 1836, and 1841, on each occasion passing the winter at Rome. He also made frequent visits to Scotland and parts of England. He was fond of travel, and for years he led a wandering life, occasionally shutting himself up, and for months together, when he was bent on some special study. Such a mode of life was inconsistent with any literary enterprise, and I find only a casual allusion to any such views until some years later. These were times of great political excitement, and there are frequent references in the journal to the great revolution that was in progress. He described graphically what passed before him, and I have thought it would interest the reader to include in my selections from the journal his account of some of the scenes he witnessed in those stirring times. A large portion of the following chapter will be occupied by his views on some important Indian questions on which he was invited to express his opinions, in aid of the deliberation of Parliament on the renewal of the privileges of the East India Company.

Shortly after his return from Scotland he started on his projected tour to the Continent with a volume of Hafiz in hand, the loan of his friend Strachey. He reported himself from

Dover as having read lots of Hafiz on the way, and, among others, some passages marked all sorts of ways, which he considers must have been 'done in their old days of blue devilry,' for the substance was the evil of the world is much greater than its good, and that its highest enjoyment does not make up for five minutes of suffering. To this he replied on the contrary by another quotation from the same author in a different spirit. The remark illustrates the prevailing tone of the journals kept by him after he left India, so completely had he emancipated himself from the despondent spirit that prevails in the record of his youth. The tone of the later journals is generally cheerful, confirming the impression I formed in reading them that the fits of depression were largely attributable to the state of his health.

Ten days later he stood on the field of Waterloo. Hackneyed as is the subject, there is something impressive in his remarks on the scene of the great conflict, and on its close.

'*Namur, June 9.*—I left Brussels at half-past seven. The forest of Soignie is in general composed of tall, straight, thickly planted trees: where the trees are not thick there is much underwood, elsewhere there is none. The road to Waterloo is very hilly. I saw the church and the cemetery, and saw the modest tombs of the heroes of Waterloo. I conformed to the custom of going to the house where Lord Anglesey's leg was cut off, but could not bring myself to make a pilgrimage to *its* tomb. I breakfasted at the little inn where I believe the Duke slept the night of the victory. I then went to the field of battle, and went over a great part of it during a visit of two hours and a half. There were one or two things of which all the plans and panoramas had failed to give me an idea. One was the unevenness of the ridge on which our army was, which is so great as to cut off the view of the rest of the army from the troops on the right. Another was the hollow in which Hougoumont is situated, and the manner in which it was invested by the French on the hills close by. The cannonade on it must have been tremendous, yet it is not mentioned in the accounts of the battle. I cannot understand how it could

be defended, receiving no support from the fire of our line, and having but few loopholes or other openings. The nearness of Ohain (pronounced Ouain) and Frichemont also surprised me. Gneiseman makes Bulow arrive on the field, probably near Frichemont, at four o'clock; yet the Duke of Wellington expressly says that his march thence on Planchemont and la Belle Alliance did not begin to take effect till seven. How was the interval occupied, the distance being only one and a half or two miles? From Ohain I went back to the mound and ascended it. It affords a fine view of the field. Buonaparte's observatory, which is still kept up, is about two or two and a half miles from it. Some barbarian (whose name they said was White) has purchased and cut down the Duke's tree, as if it had any interest away from the spot which it marked. With still worse taste the Netherlands Government has cut away the ridge from La Haye Sainte nearly to the extreme right, for the purpose of employing the earth in making the mound, thus completely destroying one of the principal features of the ground, when earth could have been just as easily taken from any other place. The mound itself is a fine monument. It promises more permanency than any other, and has the greatness and simplicity required for such a purpose. My first view of the field from the cemetery included this mound, and its solitary grandeur made the prospect very impressive. Its resemblance to those at Sardis and Troy, &c., joins the associations of antiquity to the real interest of the scene. No site connected with ancient history is entitled to more interest than the hollow way where Buonaparte stood when he sent out his last column to attack our line. They passed with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" and up to that moment he was still on the highest pinnacle of human greatness. Two minutes after he was a fugitive, and all but a captive, and had fallen never more to rise.'

The journal of this tour fills nearly three manuscript volumes. A shorter record is before me in some letters to his friend Strachey, being the last of a series which was now about to close. I give a single extract from one of them, dated from

Rome, describing the pine forest at Ravenna, which brings back the remembrance of their early travels.

‘I made another pilgrimage to the relics of Ariosto and Tasso at Ferrara, but did not go again to Arqua. I stayed three days at Bologna among the pictures. They have kept out the Pope’s troops there (and in other places) as far as Rimini, all duty being done by a civic guard composed, as you may suppose, of ordinary citizens, as in Belgium. They are quite loyal to the Pope, but desire to manage their internal government, giving tribute as they say they did before the French came. Here, as in all other Papal states, people are as quiet as in London, much quieter indeed than they were before I left, when they broke my windows because I was dining at Petersham. From Ravenna I drove one evening across a wild and solitary heath or morass to the pine forest, the scene of our old favourite in Dryden. You recollect one of our readings of it in our tent, the stage before Juggernaut, the morning we missed the breakfast-things. It is twenty-five miles long and five broad, with tall pines placed loosely and irregularly, with much rough and wild underwood, but still with plenty of room for walking, and here and there open spaces, either for Theodore’s tents, or for the spectre chase. I left my carriage and walked till I was “more than a mile immersed within the wood.” I did not meet a living creature, or hear anything but the moving of the branches, or two ravens answering each other from two distant trees. The setting sun shone on the trunks of the pines, and there was nothing the least gloomy nor the least terrific in the scene; but there was something infinitely romantic, and so full a feeling of the place that I almost expected the sudden lulling of the wind and darkening of the air, although I could not hope for our swarthy knight and his hellish sport.’

Three months later I find a sad entry in the journal:—

‘On the 27th (January) I heard the sad account of the death of Strachey, to whose early advice and example I owe so much, and on whose continued friendship I depended for a great portion of my future life.’

I give only two extracts from the journal of this tour. The first is a description of a conversation with the celebrated linguist, Mezzofanti. The second is an interesting note of his first thoughts of an Indian history.

‘*September 16, 1831.*—From the Gallery I went to the University library, and there saw one of the most remarkable persons I ever met with. This was the celebrated Abbate or Professore Mezzofanti, of whom I had heard so much. He spoke to me in very good English, and finding I understood Persian he addressed me in that language, talked in it for a long while, and read a good deal of a translation of the Bible in it, yet he has scarcely ever been out of Bologna, and can scarcely have had any opportunity of learning the pronunciation, much less of acquiring the habit of conversation. His pronunciation, though not perfect, was quite intelligible, and he was in possession of many of the idioms that are never met with in writing. He was two months learning Persian with Jones’s Grammar, and has since seen Lumsden’s, which he thought too philosophical in Silvestre de Sacy’s way. On my asking how many languages he spoke, he said, “They say I can speak forty;” by which I suppose he meant that his knowledge of all of them was not sufficient to enable him to say he spoke them. He is forty-five years old, and seems well informed on other subjects besides languages. In all his forty languages, however, he could recollect nothing to clear up the date of the ancient cathedral at San Leone, nor did his references to Muratori, &c., give him any hints.

‘*Rome, January 4, 1832.*—On my morning walk I recurred to the ways in which I might by any possibility employ myself so as to remove the reproach of utter uselessness. I have before thought that the only thing I could do would be to write something; and, if I could hope for success, I should be delighted with the undertaking; but my deficiencies in other subjects would restrict me to India, a subject already occupied, and never interesting. Still, if I could hope to produce anything popular, I should be tempted, by the hope of rescuing several reputations

which are now misrepresented or misunderstood, to attempt a portion of Indian history. But if I failed, as is by far the most probable, I should regret the pleasures of my present idle life, which I should have exchanged for one as unprofitable and more unpleasant.'

On his return to London he expected to give evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs. This never came off, but in its place he was called upon to give written replies to a circular from the secretary to the Board of Control addressed to the most distinguished servants of the East India Company. The questions put to himself had especial reference to the relations of the British Government to the native states of India. How dissatisfied he was with his production appears in the following criticism on his own work:—

'*August 19.*—I forgot to mention the impression my return to Indian business made on me. At first I felt my interest in those subjects revive, and worked with pleasure. By degrees I found myself so much behind others in speculative views, and in plans of improvement, that I got discouraged, and was mortified to find myself always starting objections instead of proposing measures of equal promise. I worked very slow also, and when I looked back on what I had finished, I was very little pleased with it, and felt certain that others would be much less so. Having to refer to old letters, especially during the Mahratta war, I was struck with the vigour and confidence they show, forming a perfect contrast to my present productions. The truth is, I was then obliged to decide; my decision produced immediate effect, and that in matters of importance to those among whom I lived. Here, if I say right, it will produce no effect; my chief care, therefore, is not to say wrong. There is little interest or pleasure in this employment, and the result is to make me feel more than ever devoted to my quiet and retirement.'

Notwithstanding these disparaging remarks, his reply to Mr. Villiers' circular contains a very interesting record of his views, and very forcibly expressed. He was questioned generally as to the character and extent of the interference exercised

over the internal affairs of these states, and on the results which have followed their alliance with us, and also invited to express his opinion how far the principles of justice had been adhered to in our dealings with them. These questions are expanded under different heads, and he was finally asked to give his views on the existing system of government, and on the changes he had to recommend either in India or at home.

Mr. Elphinstone's reply was given at some length. After a short review of the state of India at the close of the Mahratta war it discusses fully the intricate problems that Indian statesmen have to face in dealing with states in subordinate alliance with the British Government. These are questions of permanent interest, and I insert some large extracts from this able document.

‘Our interference in the internal affairs of protected states varies much both in character and extent. In most of our subsidiary treaties there is a stipulation that we are not to interfere in the internal affairs of the prince; but even in the cases where interference has been most guarded against on both sides, it has taken place to a considerable extent, and in other instances the article has become entirely nugatory.

‘This has arisen from the weakness and bad reputation of the native Governments. They have often been obliged to request our support against insubordinate chiefs or other subjects (when we necessarily became mediators and guarantors of an agreement between the parties), and they have also been obliged to solicit our guarantee to pecuniary arrangements and other settlements, where the other contracting party could not depend on their faith.

‘In some instances the protected prince has put particular branches of his administration under the representative of our Government, and in some he has given him a general control over the whole.

‘In addition to these instances of interposition at the request of the protected prince, there have also been cases where the British Government thought itself entitled, by the general spirit of the treaty, to interfere unsolicited in internal affairs

which it conceived to endanger the alliance, or to threaten future calls for its intervention, under difficulties which it might not be able to surmount.'

Examples of the different degrees of interference are then given in the affairs of the Peshwa and the Guikwar. These have been already illustrated in the preceding narrative.

'No native prince has put himself under our protection until his Government was in such a state of decay as to be incapable of subsisting by any other means. The immediate effect of the measure, therefore, has generally been a temporary recovery of vigour and prosperity. The ill effects which afterwards result from subsidiary alliances have often been pointed out. It has been shown that, by rendering the prince's safety independent on his own exertions or good conduct, they destroy his energy, and at the same time increase the arbitrary character of his government. It is also said that our treaties obstruct the natural course of events, by which when a native Government reaches a certain pitch of corruption, it is overturned, and a new and better one raised on its ruins.

'There is great truth in these observations, especially the two first; but the effects deduced from them seem to me to have been carried much too far.

'The energies of protected princes in war and politics are certainly impaired by our alliance, and as it is in those departments that we require their assistance, their deficiencies are soon discovered, and loudly complained of. Even in this respect, however, I think we are wrong to attribute the whole of their decline to the alliance. Scarcely any state that has sprung up in India since the fall of the Mogul Empire has retained its vigour after the death of its founder, and not one has failed to sink into complete decay by the third generation. The ephemeral character of Asiatic Governments may be observed in countries where our influence certainly never reached. At the time of our first treaty with the Nizam, the King of Persia had subdued all his rivals, and was threatening most of his neighbours. The King of Caubul, at a later period, occasioned us great uneasiness for the safety of our Indian Empire; yet

those two monarchies are now, for their extent, perhaps the feeblest in the world. Some light is likewise thrown by the history of Persia on the supposed renovation of decayed Governments in Asia. That kingdom enjoyed a high degree of prosperity for three generations under the first Suffeeves. It then languished for near a century under their successors. An equal period has since elapsed, during which there have been one or two very able usurpers; but the country is still in a condition probably inferior to what it was at the commencement of the Affghan invasion. In India, certainly, there have been one or two striking cases where the powers of the Government were revived by a new dynasty; but the greater part of the states which have undergone revolutions have been broken up, or partitioned, or have fallen into perfect anarchy. I conceive, therefore, that the states with which we formed alliances would have lost their political energy, as they have done, if the English had never landed in India.

‘With regard to the falling off of their internal government, I must say that it is quite inconsistent with my own observation. I was a year in the Peshwa’s country before our treaty with him, and I saw it again nine years after the alliance. During that period it had suffered from a general famine, but the improvement in its condition was, nevertheless, most striking.

‘The best proof of the fact is afforded by comparing the descriptions given by General Palmer and Sir Barry Close before the treaty with those of the residents after it. In some of the former it is stated that the province was overrun by banditti; and that no one would rent the lands round the capital because, being near the seat of government, they were liable to disturbances which the Peshwa was unable to restrain. The despatches after the treaty represent the Peshwa’s territories as not suffering by a comparison with those of any other native prince. The neighbouring territory of the Nizam certainly fell off after our alliance; but I doubt if this was not owing to the inherent vices of a Mohammedan government. With all these disadvantages it seemed to me in a better condition than

Sindia's and Holkar's countries; and, generally speaking, I think the dominions of the protected princes which I have seen were in a better state than those of the independent ones. The most flourishing territory of a native prince I ever saw was the Guikwar's.

‘The principal cause of the superiority of the territories of protected princes is probably to be found in their immunity from foreign invasion; but the stability of the Government also, though it may render the prince more arbitrary in some cases, renders him more moderate in others, and shuts out many great disorders.

‘The ultimate result of our relation to protected princes may be too easily conjectured. So close a connection between two powers so unequal and so dissimilar in all respects can scarcely end otherwise than in the subjection of the weaker to the stronger. Differences must unavoidably arise, and however moderate the superior power may be, the result of each must advance the inferior a step towards entire subjugation. Even without such disagreement it is the nature of an Asiatic government to decline; and when they are worn out, their states fall into our hands. How far their subjects are benefited or otherwise by the change will be discussed in another place: I need only observe here that the subsidiary treaties have prevented formidable combinations and dangerous wars, which, unless they had succeeded in expelling us from India, would have led to the extinction of the native states as certainly as those alliances. It appears to me to be our interest as well as our duty to use every means to preserve the allied Governments: it is also our interest to keep up the number of independent powers. Their territories afford a refuge to all those whose habits of war, intrigue, or depredation make them incapable of remaining quiet in ours; and the contrast of their government has a favourable effect on our subjects, who, while they feel the evils they are actually exposed to, are apt to forget the greater ones from which they have been delivered. If the existence of independent powers gives occasional employment to our armies, it is far from being a disadvantage.

‘The financial effect of the conquests has doubtless been to add greatly to our resources. The charges, both civil and military, must also have increased in consequence of those acquisitions. Under the Bombay Government in particular the increase of those charges, together with a failure of revenue from a permanent fall in the price of agricultural produce, went far to diminish the profits of the conquest; while other expenses, some temporary and some permanent, unconnected with the new conquests, contributed for a time to leave the deficit of the Bombay Presidency nearly as large as it was before the acquisition of the conquered territories.

‘The risk of external hostility is greatly diminished by our conquests; that of internal hostility is increased by the newness of our government in the conquered countries, by the unsettled character of many parts of them, and by the discontent of the chiefs and the soldiers who were thrown out of power and employment by our conquest. This danger, however, daily diminishes, and is not great, as long as we maintain an overwhelming military force. The troops have been judiciously distributed for that purpose, as far as my observation extends.

‘I think the principles of justice have been well observed during the period referred to. There must be differences of opinion about the expediency of some measures during so long a time; but I think the policy of the Indian Government has generally been wise. My chief doubts refer to the degree of interference in internal affairs. I must acknowledge that although the plan of abstaining from intervention is the best for the time, yet it is the most hazardous for the native prince, who has the power of running into errors which are not checked until they become irretrievable. The political errors of the Peshwa, and the misgovernment of the Guikwar after his liberation from our control, are strong instances of this fact; but, notwithstanding this danger, I think our interference should be sparingly resorted to.’

The remainder of the letter treats, and at some length, on questions of inferior or temporary interest, the distribution of the army, the system of Home Government, and the relation

between the Supreme Court and the local Governments. He gives a strong opinion adverse to a proposal to bring the whole of India under the immediate direction of the Governor-General.

‘In war and politics there cannot be too much promptitude, nor can the powers of the Governor-General be too unfettered in these departments ; but in internal government there cannot be too much deliberation and caution, nor can too much care be taken to guard against sweeping changes and frequent variations of policy. I would, therefore, rather increase the obstructions to the Governor-General’s discretion, by depriving him of all interference in the internal affairs of the other presidencies, except a veto on general changes proposed by the subordinate Governments.

‘The facility of introducing uniformity, which is the principal argument for this change, seems to me a very strong objection to it. As India is as extensive and as various as all Europe, except Sweden and Russia, it is probable that uniformity will never be more attainable in one region than in the other. At present India is very imperfectly known or understood ; and even if uniformity should ultimately be practicable, it should not be thought of now. Our government should still be considered as in a great measure experimental ; and it is an advantage to have three experiments, and to compare them in their progress with each other. The practice of Bengal led to Lord Cornwallis’s system ; an opposite course in Madras produced Sir Thomas Munro’s ; both of which will, I doubt not, be hereafter combined in such a manner as to form a better system than either separate. If the proposed plan had existed in 1792, the permanent zemindary settlement, which is now so greatly censured, would have been irrevocably established in all parts of India.

‘There are other advantages in local Governments : they have more local knowledge ; the merits of local officers, civil or military, are better known to them than to a distant Government, and they have means of employing and rewarding them which would not occur in the proposed system ; they keep up

the division of the army, which seems to me advantageous ; and they improve the means of intercourse with the native chiefs.'

In another letter to Mr. Villiers, of the same date, he discusses an intricate question of even greater magnitude, which recent events have forced upon public attention, and which has been solved by a revolution. The mutiny of the army of Bengal left a *tabula rasa* for a great experiment on the composition of the army, and the occasion was seized upon to carry out the complete amalgamation of the imperial forces. It was a great opportunity, and the subsequent abolition of the system of purchase has rendered it possible to carry out an 'intermediate arrangement' with apparent ease, which excited in Mr. Elphinstone's mind so much alarm. The change was effected at a heavy cost, and was in itself a great experiment. India is now brought so much nearer to England, and the system of reliefs is so well established, that we have less danger to apprehend than formerly from the 'provincial spirit' of a local army to which Mr. Elphinstone refers ; but some of the considerations that are passed in view are of permanent interest, and should never be lost sight of in an empire like that of India. I shall have occasion to quote some of his opinions on the subject as they were expressed at the time the great change was carried out.

'Any advantages expected from placing the Indian army directly under the King must, I presume, be confined to the officers. To the men it would be a matter of perfect indifference, provided it could be prevented from leading to interference with their interests or prejudices.

'A complete incorporation with the King's army, and the free admission into Sepoy regiments of officers unacquainted with the language or ways of thinking of the natives, must, I conclude, be considered as quite impracticable. We must, therefore, suppose an army in all respects as it is now, but subject to the Commander-in-Chief in England or a Department of the Ministry. In that case, if the pride of the officers was for a moment flattered by a more immediate connection with the King, that feeling would probably be altered when they

discovered that from a separate service which had a reputation and pretensions of its own, and was the sole object of attention to the military department of its Government, they had sunk into an inferior branch of another army, and scarcely known to the Commander-in-Chief. Their solid interests would gain as little by the transfer as their consequence. If there were still to be regiments belonging to the King's European army employed in India, there would then, as now, be a difference of interest between the two branches of the Service; but the leaning which now is considered to be in favour of the Indian army (in appointments to staff and commands), would probably be transferred to the other branch, the members of which would have the advantage of acquaintances in England and of claims from service against European enemies. When to this is added the natural disposition of the officers at head-quarters to introduce more discipline, subordination, and economy into the Indian army, and to assimilate it to the other branch of the Service, I think it is much to be feared that the transfer would introduce greater and more lasting discontent than has ever been experienced yet. Respect for the King's name might check improprieties of language and conduct on ordinary occasions, but in case of extremities (if such a case be possible) it would not make the slightest difference, since even now it is perfectly understood that mutiny against the Company is rebellion against the King. There would, therefore, be more chance of discontent than there is now, and no more means of restraining it.

‘An intermediate arrangement making the distinction between the armies less complete, and yet imposing some restraint upon the indiscriminate admission of officers into Sepoy regiments, would still be imperfect. The facilities of transfer would probably be oftenest employed to the advantage of the superior branch of the service, while the restrictions would be insufficient to secure a mutual understanding between the native troops and their officers.

‘If the Indian army were under a civil minister, more attention would probably be paid to its peculiarities. It would meet

with more consideration in questions about batta, rise by seniority, and other points which affect it and not the King's army; but it would neither be exclusively protected as by the Court of Directors, nor so effectually kept in order as by a purely military authority.

‘It would no doubt effectually protect the Indian officers if all the troops, European and native, in India were permanently formed into one army, and no officers from Europe allowed to be employed in it; but this would increase the provincial spirit already complained of, and lessen the ties which now connect that army with their country. It is not to their holding the commissions from the Company that the peculiarities of character ascribed to the Indian army have arisen, but from their being placed in a situation to which it is not easy in the present state of the world to find a parallel.

‘The army in England is completely mixed up with the nation, of which each individual is hourly reminded that he forms a part. In India the European officers are a distinct community, entirely unconnected with the people among whom they live, and scarcely ever brought into intercourse with any one beyond their own body. In this state of separation they know that they are in a country held by the sword, and that the sword is in their hands. It is not surprising that in such circumstances some of them should assume a tone of independence unusual in other armies, and it is perhaps rather to be wondered at that their conduct has, on the whole, been so little insubordinate.

‘I have hitherto assumed that the government is to be under the King as well as the army. The separation of the civil government from the military would probably not answer in any country, but least of all in India. The great problem there has been always to maintain the subordination of the military power to the civil, and to prevent clashing between the Governors and Commanders-in-Chief. In this we have not always been successful, even when both drew their authority from the same source. The separation of the two branches of government, even if it led to no struggles between the civil

and military chiefs, would soon make the former almost insignificant with Europeans, and entirely so with the natives, who can fancy no power unconnected with military command. If the payment of the troops was to be separated from the patronage and the control, every retrenchment would have the character of an offensive interference; and if this were obviated by the Company's paying a fixed sum to the King, still the protection of its subjects from military licence, and other points of duty which could never be entirely disjoined from the government of the State, would involve the civil authority in constant disputes with the military.

'The only remedy would be always to unite the offices of Governor and Commander-in-Chief, but it would be no small objection to the plan that it restricted the selection for so important a station to the small number of general officers who have sufficient rank for the military command.

'I do not see much effect the settlement of Europeans would have on the army. The Sepoys would participate in any effect it had on the other natives. It might afford employment to European soldiers worn out in the service, and it might also offer attractions to men before they get their discharge. I do not think it would lead to more marriages among men who remained with their regiments, or that it would have much effect on their conduct in other respects. It would probably lead to many marriages among the officers, which, with the introduction of the sons of settlers into the army, would weaken the tie between it and this country.

'The union of the armies of the three presidencies appears to me very difficult of accomplishment. It could not be done without equalising the allowances. It would probably be expensive to raise the inferior rates, and certainly impolitic to bring down the higher. Even on the former plan there would be difficulties in adjusting the advantages of the native soldier under the different presidencies.

'After the change was effected, general and partial arrangements would from time to time remove officers from troops composed of one Indian nation to those of another; and even if

any one language would really render an officer competent for all duties throughout all India, there are still differences of manners in the natives, which it would take time to learn; and there are great differences in the ways of commanding them, which could not be removed immediately, even if uniformity were to be wished in the treatment of dissimilar bodies. If the consolidation were easy, I do not perceive how it would be advantageous. Bombay troops have gone to the Ganges, and Madras troops to Ava, on occasions when such exertions were required, and it can never be desirable to make a practice of stationing troops far from their own country. A Carnatic man at Delhi would be completely a foreigner, in appearance and language, and he would have to alter his food and change many of his habits. This could not be agreeable to the men, and would tend to discontent and desertions. They might in time get accustomed to foreign countries, and to long absence from their home and friends; but it has been remarked by Sir T. Munro that the effect of such separations is to render men mere soldiers, and concentrate all their ideas in their camp. If our danger was from popular insurrections, this might be an advantage; as it is, it seems much more advisable to keep up the soldier's connection with the people, and bind him to tranquillity and regular authority by as many ties as possible.

‘It may be intended that each regiment should be composed of a portion of each nation. Military men will be the best judges how far this is practicable, especially the mixture of Tamul Sepoys in the Bengal army. The fact of there being Hindostan Sepoys in the Bombay army affords a very imperfect solution of the question.

‘If troops are not to be employed in remote countries, what is the object of uniting the armies? The equalisation of allowances alone (if that were practicable) would remove all jealousy between the services, and there can be no disadvantage in the emulation that would remain. It is impossible also to forget that there have been times when discontent existed to an alarming extent in the armies of particular presidencies. It was surely a very fortunate circumstance that those feelings, as

well as their causes, were restricted to portions of the army; and it cannot be expedient to facilitate the spreading of the infection by removing the distinctions which checked it on former occasions.

‘Almost all the above observations relate to the manner in which the proposed changes will affect the officers. Their effects on the Sepoys are, however, of still greater importance. Many of these may be foreseen, and some of them may be guarded against; but as the Sepoys are of many different classes, and as they are all liable to be affected by circumstances which have no influence on us, it is more difficult to form anticipations about them than about our countrymen and equals, the officers. The risk of unforeseen results applies more strongly to the transfer of the native army to the King than to the mere consolidation into one body; and considering that our safety depends entirely on that army, and that we have a precarious hold on it even now, it would appear that we should hazard no changes at all, except to remedy obvious evils, and none of a general nature without clear and urgent necessity.’

On Mr. Elphinstone’s return to London in the middle of June 1832, the great constitutional struggle on the Reform Bill had just closed. Among the reminiscences of those times in his journal I find two curious records. First, the report of a public meeting of the day; and secondly, an account of the first great debate in the reformed Parliament in the following year.

‘*June 30.*—This evening I went to the Union of the working classes, and it is to mention it that I take up my journal, now so seldom opened. At the door I found a crowd round an Englishman and a Scotchman disputing on politics, but in some way that affected their national spirit. In the midst of the debate a little ill-looking fellow with his back to me said something, on which the Scotchman looked surprised, and said, “Why, who was speaking about Ireland?” The Englishman dexterously availed himself of this new ally, and said, “Why, you did when you were talking about taxation. Did not you say that England and Scotland paid all the taxes?” The dispute

did not get so warm as I expected, and I continued my progress to the meeting. It was held in a place like a small riding-school, and there might have been five hundred people. They were mostly labourers, but several of the middle classes, and some gentlemen, both which classes seemed to have come out of curiosity. O'Connell was to have been in the chair, but an apology was made for him that he had forgotten an engagement to a St. Patrick's charity dinner. This raised great clamour, and a call to return the sixpence paid at the door. O'Connell's letter was read, but gave no sort of satisfaction; every sentence was hissed or clamoured against until the last, in which he declared his intention of subscribing 2*l.* for the "victims," whose cause was that evening to be advocated. The object of the meeting was to pass resolutions against taxes on knowledge, and to subscribe for the "victims," as they were called, who had been taken up for selling periodical publications without stamps. After O'Connell's letter the cry against him was renewed on the question being put that Wakley, editor of the "*Ballot*," should take the chair, and the business go on. The great majority was decidedly against this. Mr. Wakley (the only person there who showed ability) continued to escape the question most dexterously. He praised O'Connell most enthusiastically, spoke of his own unworthiness to represent him, held out hopes that he might yet come for a short time; and then, by passing on to the assertion that the question was too important, too full of interest to depend on the presence of one man, he gradually glided into the business of the day, and went on, as he had been appointed chairman by unanimous consent. His speech was not only against this Government, but all Governments; he said that rulers kept people in ignorance; told a humorous story of two Devonshire clowns agreeing that the reason why horses allowed themselves to be driven was because "they never took a thought o't;" "but we do think of it," said he, "and are determined to bear it no longer." He showed presence of mind and self-possession, with a thorough knowledge of his audience; spoke correctly when he chose, and coarsely when he thought that would please the company, but always vehemently.

I think it was after he was done that the secretary explained that two gentlemen, an Englishman and an Irishman, had been sent to persuade O'Connell to come; at the same time he exculpated the committee, who, he said, had left the day and hour to O'Connell himself to fix. He read other excuses from Hume, Edward Lytton Bulwer, and Colonel Evans, but said that Mr. H. Bulwer, M.P. for Coventry, was on the platform, and that there would be no want of talent. The M.P.'s name was received with unbounded applause, which with many other things showed the profound respect still felt for the aristocracy. No respect, however, was shown to anything else, for the Church was treated very contemptuously, and all arguments in favour of breaking the law or setting it at defiance were viewed with particular favour. Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer moved the first resolution in a wretched succession of hums and haws, and with no matter. He said he was sure they wished to know what an English gentleman and member of Parliament for a large constituency thought about it. Towards the end, however, he eulogised the working classes, placed them far above the middle class, and ended with favour enough. The people near me said he was young, and would do better hereafter. He was succeeded by Dr. Wade, who the bystanders said was a good fellow, though he was a parson. He did not forget his cloth, but alluded to religion, and quoted Isaiah, which was well received. He gained the hearts of his hearers by declaring for high wages, plenty of employment, and few hours' work. This last proposal was unexpected, and was received with enthusiasm; but when he proposed to conclude in the words of our Saviour himself, there was a general exclamation, which I did not know whether to attribute to religion or irreligion. I thought the latter, especially when the orator recovered the good graces of the audience by disclaiming cant and humbug (words, by-the-by, which never failed); but I had reason afterwards to change my opinion, for the next speaker, Mr. Wyer (I think), who had been counsel or attorney for the victims, touched a chord which threw a new light on the character of the audience. He spoke very zealously and very properly of the effects of a free press,

and alluded to its great results in former days. So far his course was triumphant, and the place rang with acclamations, until he said, "I allude to the time when we shook off the tyranny of the court of Rome." At this phrase there was a sudden burst of indignation, almost from the whole meeting; groans and hisses followed in quick succession, and all attempts again to get a hearing were for a long time in vain. Some English clapped, and a dirty revolutionary-looking fellow said to me, "Every man has a right to say what he thinks, or it is nonsense talking about liberty. For my part, I would cheer him if he were a Jew." Another operative told me that the meeting was almost all Irish, who had come to hear O'Connell. Mr. Wakley at last with difficulty got a hearing, explained away what Mr. Wyer had said, and made his peace. Mr. Wyer then renewed his discourse, spoke well, and was pointing out the illegality of the proceedings of the magistrates who committed the victims, when I came away. During intervals of silence fellows were crying the "Republican," only a penny; the "Poor Man's Friend," only a penny; the "Tribune," only a penny. On the right of the president was a scroll with "Equal rights," and on the left another with "Union is strength;" on the wall was a placard headed "A convention the only cure." The people were zealous, easily worked on, and swallowed facts and reasoning that would have gone down with nobody else, but they were in general quiet enough. Several persons exclaimed against the doctrines advanced; one even ridiculed the favourite proposal of high wages and little work, without provoking any incivility. One man in a white jacket remarked to me, "I think that 'ere man is of the Tory party." They were all civil and courteous, but I am sorry to say that I missed my pocket-handkerchief when I got home. On the whole, there was nothing a hundredth part so seditious or alarming as I used to witness at the British convention in 1793; yet things are in a much more dangerous state, because there is no general spirit of resistance (as there was then) to any dangerous innovation.'

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'*March 4.*—I went for four nights to hear the debates on the first reading of the Irish Disturbance Bill. Great apprehensions were entertained about its reception; and when Lord Althorpe opened it in a dull, heavy, hesitating speech its reception was not very cheering. Several other members spoke for and against with no decisive effect; but Mr. Stanley rose, and in a clear, decided, confident, and earnest speech roused the feelings and strengthened the courage of the House, and was received with long and enthusiastic cheers, which showed that the feelings of all were on the Government side, however they might have been suppressed by prudence or want of zeal. His facts and arguments differed little from Lord Althorpe's, but the effect was as different as ice and fire. I had no idea of the power of eloquence, or rather of confidence and earnestness of manner. The last part of his speech was a severe attack on O'Connell, managed with great skill, with no appearance of study, and heightened by readiness in turning occurrences of the moment to account, making O'Connell's cheers the occasion of some of the most murderous thrusts at him. Among other things O'Connell was reproached with having called the House 600 scoundrels, which he called out he would explain. The House would scarcely wait till Stanley was done, but called for an immediate explanation. When Stanley had done, and all was expectation, Sheil moved the adjournment of the House, but the cry for O'Connell was too persevering. He rose at last, and first tried conciliation, to little purpose; then manly frankness with more success, until his lame and shuffling explanation came, which was received with a burst of laughter. O'Connell was completely disconcerted, made bad worse by further attempts at explanation, and sat down amid the strongest marks of reprobation from almost every side. The other speakers of note were Tennyson, clear, fluent enough, but with too much and too undignified action, in both which defects he is far surpassed by Lytton Bulwer, who has even more fluency, but with a lisp and a weak voice. His brother is better in those respects, but seems a still greater coxcomb. Grote was well in manner, voice, and language, but brought forth his Bentham notions as

if they were universally acknowledged truths, and seemed astonished to find they were not so received by everybody.

‘There were several Irish members—Grattan, the younger, I believe, distinguished for force and fury, and Fergus O’Connor for vulgarity and absurdity, but Sheil remarkable for ingenuity and acuteness, and even for eloquence. He spoke on a subsequent night, when Whittle Harvey made a very clever and most mischievous speech, calculated for the lowest of the people out of doors, but not unlikely to make an impression even in the House, from the good language and excellent delivery of the orator, if it had not been rendered ineffective by some extravagances, as well as by the bad character of the speaker. Major Beauclerk was wild and foolish; Mr. Clay, though middling, was hardly listened to; and the Attorney-General, though he seemed to speak well, not listened to at all. On the Government side, besides the Attorney-General, Lord John Russell was slow and heavy, Lord Ebrington distressing from embarrassment, stammering, and repetition; Sir G. Grey manly and pleasing; Macaulay learned and eloquent, but destitute of force and effect. His speech was filled with historical illustrations and poetical figures, but neither evincing strong conviction in the speaker nor answering the objections of his opponents: it was more like an essay than part of a debate, and was received accordingly. I am told he never spoke so ill. Lord Ebrington’s sincerity, on the other hand, made his painful efforts be listened to with attention and respect.

‘There were several other speakers, of whom I shall mention Mr. Lloyd, member for Stockport, who was set up by O’Connell to speak against time, and who resisted the impatience of the House, entreating their indulgence for his youth and diffidence with a brazen assurance that would have done honour to O’Connell himself. The only great speaker besides Stanley was Peel, who was nearly or fully equal to the former, and made an impression almost as powerful as he. Of the general appearance of the new House (I know too little of the old one to speak), it was noisy and irregular enough, but so I think was the old one. Compared with old times it seemed far inferior in

ability, and Cobbett sat in Charles Fox's seat. Better judges than I are divided about its character. James Loch says it is very much like the old one; Fleming, that it is like any other new Parliament. Sir G. Staunton, whom I sat next to last night at the Dilettanti, said it was more moderate and deliberate than any of five Parliaments (or sessions, I forget which) that he had witnessed; while Mr. Charles Wynne, with whom I walked home, said it was so deficient in courtesy that he could scarcely fancy it the same assembly. All agree that the members are much older than usual, though there are many very young too, especially among the ultra-Liberals; and all must agree that it is likely to be very economical, and to stand in great awe of its constituents. There seems no great fear for Ireland, but how are they to get through with the Budget?

‘Mr. Wynne made a very good observation on the young orators coming forward ready formed from debating societies, instead of learning their trade in the House of Commons, which he says makes them rhetoricians, and not business speakers. Though there are so many bad speakers, the debates are very interesting. I sit from five till two without impatience, and am sorry when the adjournment is moved.

‘I went on Saturday to hear O’Connell in the great room at the “Crown and Anchor.” It was a meeting of a political union. I never was more disappointed. In the House he was manly, not without dignity, and never without strength, both of matter and of elocution; but here he was a low Irish mountebank, degrading himself equally by his buffoonery and his pathos, and shocking the taste of moderately educated people, without at all hitting that of the assembly he was addressing. Notwithstanding his great name, he produced less effect than Parson Wade. He was cheered often, loudly and warmly, when he spoke of ballot and universal suffrage, or when he abused the Ministry; but when he left the topics on which his hearers were already excited, and endeavoured to interest the people about Ireland, the real object of the meeting, he was received with great indifference. I have been at “Nell Gwynne,” a bad play wretchedly acted, at Covent Garden; and at “Faust,” a

laboured and dull, ill-managed ballet at the Opera House. I have lately been reading about Ireland; we talk of combination and organisation among the common people now, and of their democratic spirit; but what are the political unions in either of those respects compared to the United Irish in 1797?

‘*March 7.*—After many tiresome speeches I at last heard O’Connell. I was much disappointed in his performance. The great expectation that was entertained, the attention with which he was listened to, the situation in which he stood, as in a manner the leader of his nation, and as singly opposed to almost all his auditors, the bold strain of invective against the whole British nation with which his speech began, all seemed likely to animate him, and disposed one to give full effect to anything he might say. He soon, however, left this lofty ground, and descended to quibbles and sophistry, which destroyed all confidence in him; and though he afterwards produced some forcible statements and sound arguments with some bursts of indignant eloquence, yet he made little impression on those whom he addressed, and did not ever command the attention of the mere audience under the gallery. The majority was 466 to 89.

‘There never was a House of Commons, even in Pitt’s time, that seemed better inclined to support the Ministry; but there is no Pitt to lead both them and the people. Their dread of their constituents will counteract their zeal in all questions where the constituents are much interested, especially in questions of economy, and it may be feared the Ministry may still find it difficult to go on. On the other hand, the House of Peers may be stubborn enough to reject some of the proposed reforms, and then the chance is that their body, already weakened by their want of sympathy with the nation, might be so far reduced as to lose all the weight they require to give due effect to the action of the Constitution. It is also still an alarming question how the Bill may be received in Ireland. It probably will soon settle everything, but it may lead to another American war.’

I close this chapter with a warm tribute to the memory of

an old friend who died in May of this year, 1833 It will be observed it is a fragment.

‘Begun not long after Malcolm’s death.

‘Perhaps no man not entrusted with the government of that mighty province ever exercised so great an influence, during his time in India, as Sir John Malcolm. His ascendancy was owing to his natural abilities; for he was entirely self-educated, having come out to India in his fifteenth year, and, long afterwards, led the life of an idle and wild cadet. But he had a quickness of apprehension and a talent for turning what he learned to account, which were not to be acquired by study. In his most careless days he had a quick perception of character, and a ready, though not always accurate insight into affairs. His judgment was soon formed, often sound, and united with a boldness that would shrink from no undertaking; what he resolved he would enter on with confidence, and generally carry through with success.

‘In addition to his public merits, Sir John Malcolm possesses, in an eminent degree, the power of gaining the attachment of those with whom he associated, and was, at one time of his life, the most popular man with all classes that ever was known in India. He owed this to his unbounded good nature, to a temper which nothing could ruffle, and spirits which nothing could depress, to the relish with which he could join in any amusement, and the readiness with which he entered into an intimacy, and the warmth with which he adhered to it when he had the power to assist a friend. To this, at that period, was added a frankness and contempt for all disguise which opened every heart, while it disarmed envy by its inconsistency with every attempt at false pretensions.’

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CHAPTER XVIII. -

HISTORY OF INDIA, 1834 1841.

OFFER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP—LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S PROPOSAL—LORD ABERDEEN AND CANADA—LETTERS TO ERSKINE—LIFE OF CLIVE—MOHAMMEDAN HISTORY—ROYAL COMMISSION ON RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN SCOTLAND—THE HISTORY RESUMED—DOUBTS AND HESITATION—ADVICE OF LORD JEFFREY—THE PUBLICATION—MORE DOUBTS—FINAL ABANDONMENT.

I CONFESS to have experienced a feeling of vexation in reading the account of the doubts and misgivings with which Mr. Elphinstone commenced his *History of India*, and with which he pursued the task. Though he never wrote with perfect ease, and was wanting in the power of picturesque narrative, which in these days is regarded as the first requisite of an historian, he possessed every other qualification for the work—extensive knowledge of men, and of the countries that were the scene of his narrative, great industry and sound judgment, combining a rare union of the antiquarian and statesman. He had besides acquired a reputation as an author, and might well aspire to higher fame; but such was the diffidence of his own powers that he hesitated long about writing, still more about publishing, and it was only under the repeated advice of friends that he applied himself to the work, or gave any portion of it to the world.

The project only assumed form while engaged on other studies at Tunbridge Wells. In the June of the year 1834 he wrote, 'Although I am very faint-hearted about attempting a *History of India*, yet I am almost determined to study the subject, and embody the early part for my own information. The only obstacle lies in the number of books I must carry about with me.'

Soon after this he is found immersed in the study of Indian antiquities, and making occasional notes of them and on Indian

chronology. He went in the autumn to Leamington for the joint object of study and medical advice, and while fairly committed to his new task he received the most tempting offers to return to public life.

Mr. H. George Tucker, then Chairman of the East India Company, proposed to submit his name to the Government of Lord Melbourne, together with that of Metcalfe, as the successor to Lord William Bentinck. Mr. Elphinstone's reply, which is given in Kaye's biography,¹ is very short. He was still suffering from the effect of his former residence in the East. 'I could be of no use,' he said, 'in a hot climate, and the present state of my health is an effectual bar to my going to India.' On being pressed to reconsider his decision he consulted Dr. Jephson, and although the medical opinion was encouraging, Mr. Elphinstone adhered to his resolution. 'I feel convinced,' he said, 'that if I went to India I should be obliged to return immediately, and should incur all the bad effects of a sudden change of government; and, what is worse, I should not be able to do my duty satisfactorily while I stayed.'

Such an offer could not be made without recalling the aspirations of his youth; nor could it be rejected without a struggle. What he felt is expressed in the following entry in his journal at the time:—

'August, 1834.—I had a letter from Mr. Tucker (the Chairman) to-day, offering to propose me, along with Metcalfe, to the choice of the Court of Directors for Governor-General. The form of the offer is not captivating, and the success of the Court's recommendation doubtful; but if all had been ever so inviting my health prevents my thinking of it. If I were well, I should not so easily decide. The office, as it has been for the last seven or eight years, is anything but desirable, being altogether occupied with retrenchment and details; but nothing is certain in India, and the next man may have an active and important career. This consideration, and the thought of being once more a living man, exerting one's faculties, contending with and surmounting difficulties, and able to give extensive

¹ *Lives of Indian Officers*, i. 301.

effect to one's wishes and opinions, may have tempted me to consider the offer if likely to have been attended with success.

“Sed mihi tarda gelu morbisque effeta senectus
Invidet imperium.”

‘September 1.—Another and much more encouraging letter from Mr. Tucker, after he had talked with some of his colleagues, has made me give a more serious consideration to the question. I spoke to Dr. Jephson, who with his sanguine turn declares that if I will live as he tells me he will answer for my health in India, and that he will give me a certificate for the Alliance Life Insurance, in which he has a large interest. As far as health goes, therefore, though my own opinion would have been quite the reverse of Dr. Jephson's, it might be worth my while to consult medical men who were experienced in hot climates. But the first question is, would the situation suit me if there were no obstacle to my taking it? I must premise that, as there is no particular crisis in India, and I have no particular abilities, I may assume that it is of no consequence to the public whether I go or another. I have therefore only personal considerations to attend to. Now the chance of great events occurring is not considerable, nor is it certain, if they did occur, that I should conduct them with distinction. The probable employment of the next Governor-General will be, like that of the last, economy and details of civil administration, with the amendment of the Code, and the settlement of the new questions arising from the late Act. In economy I never excelled, and for details I shall feel the want of that local knowledge I had at Bombay. With respect to the Code, I fear I should be more against sudden changes than would suit the Commissioners, and I should therefore probably have the talents of Macaulay, backed by public opinion at home, to contend with. About the settlement of Europeans, &c., I could, I think, with ease give in fully to all the plans which have been determined on, though I should not have advised them. In foreign politics I should probably be most in my element. I suppose, coming after an unpopular man, being myself an Indian, and thinking

well of Indians, I should go on smoothly with the Service ; but I could not expect to be so popular as at Bombay, where we formed almost a family, every man comparatively knowing his neighbour, and where I brought along with me an addition of territory, increase to allowances, and a more liberal system of government. In this last respect things have altered so fast that I should be behind the age, instead of in advance. As to the method of conducting business, having much personal intercourse with people, my temper would be more tried, and it is never suited for resisting sudden provocations, though they are easily surmounted when there is time for reflection. I should be incapable of speaking, even sufficiently for the discussions in Council, and should make a wretched figure on all the occasions where public harangues are required—opening of colleges, answers to addresses, even thanks for healths drunk. The chance, therefore, is on the whole that I should not augment my reputation ; and if the amount which it is possible to gain, in such times as I may look to, be put against what I may possibly lose, the stakes are very unequal. As to money, say that I save 50,000*l.*, I should be a poorer man for a Governor-General than I am now for the private station which I occupy. Titles, even if I gained them, would be of no value unless gained by actions, the chance of which has been discussed. My time out there would pass in comparative misery. The enervating and depressing climate, the irritation of constant hurry, the deprivation of the quiet pursuits in which I delight, the constant constraint and publicity of life, would all annoy me very much. At the end of my time, say five years' actual residence (six with the voyages), I should be more a man of this world than I am, but not enough to be quite at home in it, and perhaps not quite so capable of enjoying retirement and of entering with interest on a never-to-be-published History of India as I am now ; and, moreover, I should be sixty—a bad age for anything. On the whole, therefore, the balance is against going, and ought to be made decidedly, from the uncertainty whether Mr. Grant has withdrawn, and how the Ministry is inclined. Having received civilities from Mr.

Grant, I would not willingly stand as an opponent when he was actually in the field ; nor am I by any means so eager for the object as to enter into a doubtful contest with anybody for it.

‘What then prevents my immediately renewing the refusal I have already given, and which I have always said I should give if, contrary to expectation, it were offered to me ? The only thing that does prevent me is the consideration that this is the last opportunity I shall ever have of returning to active life, and that if I refuse it, and a period of interest and glory follows in India, I shall not easily acquit myself in my own mind from the charges of laziness and pusillanimity, or at least want of enterprise. I ought to remember, however, that in these days glory is out of fashion, and if I were to resist a Russian invasion it would be less thought of than if I had proposed a reduction in some trifling tax at home ; while, with respect to faults, I should find the popular leaders much more captious and quick-sighted than the old members of Parliament, and the Ministers much less decided in defending measures of which they had not previously expressed disapprobation.

‘*September 3.*—I yesterday replied to Mr. Tucker, again declining his offer. My reasons, summed up in a few words, are (besides my health) that there is no chance of gaining credit, and much of losing it.’

Three months later the Whig Ministry was dismissed, and Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues installed in their place. One of the first acts of Lord Ellenborough, when appointed to the Board of Control, was to endeavour to secure Mr. Elphinstone’s services as Permanent Under Secretary. The terms in which the offer was made, and again pressed after it was declined, were very complimentary. He called on Mr. Elphinstone, and in a long conversation endeavoured to remove his objections by describing the office as one independent of Parliament or politics, and in which he would be under no restraint beyond that of giving his advice when wanted, the object being, he said, to secure a man who would not be removed on a change of Ministry. This he feared could not be secured unless Mr. Elphinstone accepted the office. Mr. Elphinstone was

much touched by his frankness and considerateness, but declined the overture.

In the following week he met Lord Ellenborough again, who at once attacked him on the higher question of the Governor-Generalship.

'December 30.—This morning I arranged my books, and then went out to walk in St. James's Park. I met Lord Ellenborough on horseback. He stopped, and soon began on the appointment of a Governor-General. He had heard of my refusal, for he said of all things he wished I could be persuaded to go. I said my health could not even stand Italy. He was very earnest, said they were quite at a loss whom to send, that the two persons proposed by the Court of Directors would not answer, that he could find no fit person, and that they were fairly "beat." I said I could name two or three of the Ministers who would do. He said those that would answer could not be spared; but that if I could think of anybody he would be very much obliged. I declined particulars. He several times said how desirable it was that I should go, and that if I would consent I should be appointed to-morrow. I said I was much flattered to be thought of for such a situation, but quoted Evander's reason for declining the "imperium." My health is really an insuperable impediment. It would affect my activity and my temper, and render me unfit for any station. Besides, there is nothing attractive in a high station with no prospect of high employments.'²

Six weeks later I find the record of another offer from the same Government, which affords a more striking evidence of the estimation in which he was held. As Mr. Elphinstone was personally unknown to Lord Aberdeen, then Secretary for the Colonies, it may be inferred that he was guided in his choice of Mr. Elphinstone for the difficult post by the opinion of the

² Sir W. Kaye says that, on the change of Government, Mr. Tucker again proposed Mr. Elphinstone's name to the King's Government, and that Mr. Elphinstone again declined; and as Sir W. Kaye had access to Mr. Tucker's papers, it is probable that he had ground for this statement. I should otherwise have inferred, from the report of this conversation, that no new proposal was made beyond what is here reported.

Duke of Wellington. Canadian troubles were then at their height. The representative Chamber was in collision with the executive, and the former had resorted to the extreme step of refusing the supplies required for the payment of the judges, &c. A recent election had added to the strength of the French party in the Chambers, and Lord Aylmer, the Governor, was about to retire. The serious character of the crisis was acknowledged by all parties at home, and indeed it culminated in a rebellion two years later.

‘*February 14.*—On Monday I went to town at Mr. Hay’s request, and immediately went to him at the Colonial Office. His object was to say that it was intended to send a commissioner to Canada (in the same manner that Lord Howe and his brother had been sent to America before the war), to try to settle the disputes between this country and the colony, and that it was wished that I would undertake the duty. He said the case of the Government was such as nobody could question; that the only two points which they intended to resist were to have been resisted by the late Government; that my instructions would be clear, and my powers ample; that it was hoped it might not last longer than would be agreeable; that the Government would probably succeed, and if it failed this would have shown that no means of conciliation had been left untried. I said I was very much honoured, but that the best way I could show my gratitude was to decline the office. I could not speak French, could not even speak English to a public assembly; and, though I had had experience in governing where everything depended on myself, I had none in managing other people, especially such as the Canadian House of Representatives. Moreover, that my health would not allow me even a few months’ residence in a hot climate. Mr. Hay combated all the arguments except the last, and also replied to objections I had made on the score of Whig and Tory; but he said he had foreseen the difficulty of persuading me, and ultimately undertook to communicate my answer (with many civil messages on my part) to Lord Aberdeen.’

Two months later he entered the following comments on these repeated refusals:—

‘On looking over this I am struck with the great importance I attach to giving up my projected work, while I leave two chances of going back to active life, which I have abandoned within these three or four months, almost unmentioned. The truth is that, for the reasons already stated, I should have failed in Canada; it was, therefore, no sacrifice. As Governor-General of India, I should only have had to cut and clip; my health certainly would not have stood it for six months; but if there had been the least prospect of usefulness or distinction, I should not have thought of my health for a single moment. I am much cooled since old times, but I would still give all the rest of my life with delight for one moment of real glory.’

The plea of health which led him, both on this occasion and on the more tempting offer of the Governor-Generalship, to adhere to his resolution of avoiding public life was well founded, and not thrown in as a makeweight. Of this I have before me clear evidence in the notes which he made of the symptoms which led him to consult Dr. Jephson. For years he had, without intermission, suffered from a derangement of his system, under which no person of his age would have ventured on a residence in a tropical climate without incurring great danger; and it is probable that if he had attempted the great charge of India his health would have soon broken down, as it did only a few years later. One might otherwise have been tempted to speculate on the change in the course of history which might have resulted from his presence in India when the Russian alarm was at its height. Mr. Elphinstone once told me that he saw the destinies of Europe very nearly changed by a fish-bone; General Wellesley was nearly choked by a fish-bone at his own table. Lord Ellenborough, at the public meeting held in Mr. Elphinstone's honour after his decease, boldly declared that had he gone to India there would have been no Affghan war. It is certain that he would not have counselled that unfortunate enterprise; and it is improbable that the Ministry of the day would have sent to a statesman of his knowledge and experience

such peremptory instructions as those which were said to have crossed in mid-sea the announcement of the decision of Lord Auckland's Government.

As the aggressive spirit of the Persian Government was manifested upon the accession of Mohammed Shah in the autumn of 1834, and one of the first acts of Lord Auckland was to send a mission to Caubul, Mr. Elphinstone, had he undertaken the government, would have reviewed the whole situation, and might possibly have placed on record some luminous despatches to enlighten and guide our Government. More was not to be expected; the siege of Herat was not commenced till September 1837, and I scarcely think his health would have stood even two years of Indian climate and work.

When the last of these proposals was made, Mr. Elphinstone was fully engaged in his Indian labours. He commenced with much hesitation, and not until he had satisfied himself that Mr. Erskine, his former correspondent, had not already entered upon the same field. That gentleman, after the publication of his translation of Baber's 'Memoirs,' was preparing himself for a new work on the Mohammedan period of Indian history. This was interrupted for a time by a request conveyed to him by Sir John Malcolm's family through Mr. Elphinstone to complete the 'Life of Clive.' Malcolm when at Bombay had submitted his manuscript to Mr. Erskine's criticism, and Lord Powis's family now joined with Lady Malcolm in pressing him to continue the work. For some reason Mr. Erskine's name did not appear connected with the publication, though he wrote the greater part of the third volume.

Mr. Elphinstone was consulted on many details connected with the publication, and wrote a short preface to the work. While addressing his friend on the subject, he took occasion to press on him a more important undertaking than this biography.

‘Tunbridge Wells, August 22, 1833.

‘My dear Erskine,—I hope you have got the papers (relating to Clive) safe. I most heartily wish this occupation may

revive your intentions in favour of Indian history. It would be a natural continuation to go on to Hastings, who (except for a few romantic adventures) is a far finer subject than Clive. You would have it all to yourself; for, although there are materials to an extent that is embarrassing, and though many have made use of them, no one yet has given anything like a complete picture of Hastings, or has attempted to penetrate his feelings and principles. Mill had not imagination enough for it, and is besides a mortal enemy to all heroic propensities. The managers of the impeachment employed talent enough on the subject, but their object was to make out a monster. He was certainly a man of extraordinary genius, exposed to extraordinary trials; and considering the disadvantages of education which he surmounted, his love of literature, and the way in which he acquired the attachment, or rather devotion of the people who acted with him, he could not fail to make a most interesting subject for biography. I have heard some report that Southey is writing his life. The fact might be easily ascertained. He may do it well, for his "Life of Nelson" is the best since Plutarch, but there is some fear of three quartos of minute details, mixed with vague declamations, like some of his other works. Believe me, &c., 'M. ELPHINSTONE.'

'Leamington, November 18, 1834.

'My dear Erskine,—Your letter was quite clear, and I perfectly understood what your intention had been, and how little you expected to fulfil it; but I thought there was room to hope that as you had once entertained the idea of a history of the Mogul dynasty, you might possibly resume it; and that, if you did so, you would see the prodigious advantages such a previous work would give you in making a complete history of India. I am heartily sorry to find you so much resolved against such a plan. If I had any strong temptation to attempt the work myself, I might be glad to find the field open; but I am so little sanguine about success, or rather so certain of ill-success, that I will not answer for my persevering, even when I know that I shall be the only person engaged on a work which has a good

deal to recommend it. If assiduity would do, I might excel; and I should also have an advantage from previous knowledge: but Indian history lies on the surface; it is printed in parliamentary papers, and has been well digested by Mill. What it wants is an agreeable form, and to give it that requires imagination and eloquence, which are not to be gained by industry. *Kabûli khâter o lûtfi sukhan Khodâdâd ast.*³ This applies to the British transactions only. To write a history of the preceding part would require great knowledge, and a very philosophical and reflecting mind. If suitably executed it would be a most important work. With all the loose information we possess about the East, there is no book that gives an idea of the principles of an Asiatic government, or the structure of Asiatic society. It is only by a good history that such knowledge can be imparted, and India is the only country where we have sufficient materials to allow a hope of such a history being ever produced. I hope still that you will resume your plan about the Moguls. It would accomplish this last object; and if you were tempted to go on with the much easier task of relating the British transactions, you would leave a complete work requiring . . . ,⁴ and similar qualities, all of which you happen to possess. I have spent the last four months on a sketch of the Hindoos, which would have done either for a history, or an account of India. The result has considerably cooled my zeal; it will take four more months to verify, correct, improve, and above all compress. When that is done it will be equal in length to two-thirds of a volume of Robertson's three-volume "History of America," or to one-third of a volume of Hallam's "Middle Ages;" and I do not see an idea it will contain that is not likely to be already in print, in the Family Library or the Modern Traveller.'

' Tunbridge Wells, April 25, 1835.

'My dear Erskine,—A history of the Moguls must depend entirely on the execution. It may be like Price's "Moham-

³ Readiness of heart and elegance of diction are gifts of God.

⁴ Torn off in the original.

medan History," or it may be like nothing that ever was written; for the subject of Asiatic history and institutions, though often superficially treated, is still quite new to any one who penetrates beyond the surface. It seems to me quite impossible that it can be very short. Not only is fulness necessary for the sake of being understood, but also for that of exciting interest. Mere glimpses of unknown objects suggest no ideas, and for this reason: if you look to books of travels, you will find the most entertaining ones are always those that rather err on the side of prolixity; some have hardly any other merit except their abundance of particulars. As to the time before you, I do not think you need fear its failing you. Thucydides was in the thick of his history at sixty-eight. I do not know how much longer he went on, but he left it imperfect after all, and nobody has yet nearly equalled it, imperfect as it is. But it will be a thousand pities if you do not get through Aurungzebe. Could you not write him first, as Hume did the Stuarts, after a summary view of the preceding reigns? It would probably be advantageous to study fully that regarding which you have the best materials, as you will then be master of the subject, and more able to fill up blanks and understand him in the earlier histories. I suppose that you would, even from choice, postpone your account of Akber's system until the period when it was most complete, and when you were best informed about its operation. Now this would probably be about the beginning of Aurungzebe's time. Akber's reign, however, must be very interesting, from the curious state of opinions in his day. He and his successors seem to have got too great a start of their age, and Aurungzebe got the better of his brothers, partly by putting himself at the head of the reaction against freethinking. To return to the question of time, it is quite provoking to think how many a man is now starving in the streets of Delhi or Lucknow for want of fifteen rupees a month, who could relieve all your difficulties and save you years by the mere mechanical art of reading Shekasteh.⁵

⁵ Lit. broken; a running hand.

It is quite impossible to get any help in this country. I suppose Dow's materials, in addition to what he drew from Bernier and other European travellers, may have been summaries taken down from his moonshee. From what I recollect of some passages, such as Shah Jehan's interview with Noor Jehan, I should think Ossian Macpherson must have found a good portion of the material in his own head. After all I have said of the value of your time, I believe I shall still be selfish enough to avail myself of your permission to send you my introduction. It is finished, all but the cutting down and compressing, which, before I gave up thoughts of a history, I had reserved for part of next season's work. Yours most sincerely,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

The only entry in his journal in the course of the year 1835 relating to the subject which was now uppermost in his mind is the following :—

‘*August 20.*—In the views I have taken of Indian history I have overlooked the noblest to which a writer on that subject could attend. The most desirable course for events in that country to take is that European opinions and knowledge should spread until the nation becomes capable of founding a government of its own, on principles of which Europe has long had the exclusive possession. Should such a time arrive, the most interesting subject to the Indians, such as they will then be, and to all the world to which they will then become of interest, will be the progress of improvement and of liberal ideas among them. A history of little other merit, which shall preserve the otherwise perishable record of that progress, will be read with the deepest interest in India, and with attention elsewhere.

‘It is perhaps too early for anything like a history of the change of Indian opinion ; but many circumstances, which will be hereafter of importance, are only recorded in newspapers and ephemeral productions, and many signs of the change are not recorded at all. A perusal of the newspapers, of the writings of Ram Mohun Roy and his sect, and information derived from

individuals, and from inquiries made in Calcutta, especially by reports from natives, may enable an industrious person to give a general view of what has already passed, and the next ten years may afford much greater materials for history. Even if the improvement of the natives receive a check, it will be honourable to England and instructive to mankind to show what progress has been made.'

'Albany, July 18, 1836.

'My dear Erskine,—I was delighted with your letter, which I have just received. From your long silence and other causes I had begun to despair of the continuance of your history, and am enchanted to find it is actually in progress. Pray work hard, and recollect that every minute you employ tends to produce something permanent, and probably beneficial; while the labour of a mere reader ends with his study, or, at most, leads to a remark or two in conversation. I need not say that I envy you the power of writing a good history, but I envy you the dignity and the virtue of writing anything at all, instead of being absolutely useless, like an old bachelor in the Albany, or very partially useful, as you would yourself be if you went on teaching your children what many people who could not write history would teach much better. I hope you will not be deterred by the excess to which modern historians have gone from being discursive and speculative; your subject requires it, as the philosophy of Indian history is still untouched, and the turn of your mind enables you to excel in it, and at the same time quite secures you from the danger of running into vague speculation. If you have not read, or not lately read, Guizot's "*Progress of Civilisation in France*" and "*Civilisation in Europe*," Thierry's "*Normans*," and some other comparatively modern French books, they would amuse your hours of relaxation for a few days, and would suggest a great many topics on which the history of India throws a strong light on that of the Middle Ages in Europe. I cannot agree with you about Clive. I read it up with some prejudice, derived from recollections of what I saw at Bombay, and found it far above my expectations, and free from most of Malcolm's

faults. If you had exercised your pruning-knife on his reflections, I do not think that any one could have complained, even of want of compression. Those who do complain found their charge on there being nothing new; but nobody could expect anything new in the public transactions which Orme has recorded, and in Lord Clive's private life. Even on those times, and on all subjects in the subsequent period, there is a great deal that is new. You seem to me to have succeeded admirably in your part, in surmounting the prodigious disadvantage of going on without materials, after Malcolm, whose materials formed the great beauty of his work. It gives one a new view of Clive's character. He seems to have been a coarse man, with great sagacity, and prodigious vigour of mind, not very sensitive, except to attacks on his power and reputation, and capable of commanding himself, even when provoked, if his own interest or that of the public required it; hearty and friendly in manner to those about him, but always maintaining his natural superiority, and rather a zealous patron than an attached friend, with strong principles in the main, though not scrupulous in details; self-interested on ordinary occasions, but capable of most generous sacrifices when there was a sufficient motive, as when he risked his fortune by an attack on the Dutch, and his peace and reputation by his reforms in his last Government.

‘Yours very sincerely,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

Mr. Elphinstone was not long engaged on his task. He worked for some months and then paused, read the draft, tied up the bundle, and the work was thrown aside for a time. Meanwhile he was asked to become a member of a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the means of religious instruction in Scotland, and he passed the winter of 1835-6 in the north. The Commission took its origin in a demand for church extension on the part of the members of the Established Church, and promoted with great zeal by Dr. Chalmers and the leaders of that body; but, as in the picture that was drawn of the spiritual destitution of the country, the exertions of the

Dissenters were not taken into account, these communities challenged inquiry, and the Government of Lord Melbourne appointed a Commission, of which Lord Minto was at the head, which produced in succession several reports embracing a vast amount of statistical information. The labours of the Commissioners involved no discussion of principles, but such was the keenness with which the controversy was carried on, that I find notes of debates which called for the exhibition of temper as well as judgment on the part of the Commissioners. India was now quite thrown aside. I find in the journal many notes of miscellaneous reading, and of the society in which he lived, until March 1836, when he was obliged to retire from the Commission, owing to a return of the severe symptoms which led him to consult Dr. Jephson eighteen months before. He accordingly returned south *viâ* Leamington, and after passing a few months in London in indifferent health, he started on a new excursion to the Continent, and passed the winter as usual at Rome.

On his return to London, in the spring of 1837, he felt the want of some fixed occupation, and took up the discarded manuscript. The result was not satisfactory. 'Some parts,' he writes, 'seem to me worth preserving; others are heavy, stiff, and laboured, without any corresponding novelty. The whole seems commonplace, and what, if not already contained in some other compilation about India, might easily be produced by any ordinary workman.' Fortunately, he had at hand a friend to whom he might express his doubts, and he addressed Mr. Erskine, asking him to give a candid opinion whether there was anything new in his summary of the early history of India. 'It seems,' he says, 'so easy a task that one cannot but believe that it has been already performed; but, on the other hand, when you see well-informed writers supposing that the Persians possessed a great portion of India, and others that India comprehended a great part of Persia, while others maintain that Porus was Emperor of all, or most of India, it is impossible not to think that some short and distinct view of all that has been left by the ancients should be presented to those

who may have to speculate on such subjects, and may not have time to hunt out and compare the information themselves.' The result of this appeal was encouraging, and, fortified by Mr. Erskine's counsel, he set to work in earnest. A few months later he consulted Mr. Erskine on some details of his work:—

'My business with Buchanan has been to find out the history of the class or classes called zemindars, especially those in Hindustan and Bengal, of whom some are petty princes, never subdued at all, some fragments of old Hindoo kingdoms, and others revenue officers and farmers of revenue of very modern times. (Question 1:) Can you tell me where to find information about them? the reign of Akber seems the epoch at which most of the old ones took their present shape. (Question 2:) Can you tell me where there is anything about the practice of Hindoo Governments with respect to jageers? Even Menu pays his Civil officers in land, but when did it become a general way of providing for an army? and what were the terms under the Hindoos? (Question 3:) And what under the Moham-medans? The Rajpoots alone seem to have had something of a feudal system. Where can one find information on these heads? (Question 4:) Above all, where am I to look for the history of the Mohammedan dynasties from Mahmoud to Bâber? I have Price and Ferishta, but should be glad to get anything to throw light on the spirit of those governments. It was very peculiar. In Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, Tartary (all their conquests except the very recent one of Greece), the Mussulmans seem to have converted all their subjects, and to have made no compromise with infidel communities. In India they left nine-tenths of the nation unconverted, were tolerant to all, and at one time were nearly turning infidels themselves. Their rule seems also to have been more mild than elsewhere. Old customs and forms of government were kept up, and less rapacity and violence shown towards the conquered. If this be so, what is the reason? But, in short, what are the books (especially translated ones) that should be referred to for information? Is there any exposition of the systems of government, like the *Ayin Akbery*, in earlier times (even if it were merely a

sketch in the body of a history)? I should never be tired of asking questions, but I must have some consideration for you.'

During the following two years he worked steadily on, notwithstanding a sharp attack of illness in the autumn of 1839; he completed his sketch of the history of the rule of the Mohammedans in India, and entered on the career of his own countrymen. But new difficulties supervened of another kind. A formidable competitor appeared in the field, whose brilliant essays might well make him incline to give up his task in despair.

'I go on very slowly with my work. I have just been reading Macaulay's "Life of Lord Clive" (for such it is) in the "Edinburgh." The candour and knowledge of the subject, the sympathy with Clive's great qualities, the manly and just avowal of his offences, the spirit and eloquence of his style, all fill me with admiration; but they make me keenly feel the absurdity of my attempting a history of India. If this impression lasts, I shall be unable to go on with a task which affords a kind of excuse for my unprofitable life. My daily occupation, that fills up all hours that would otherwise be tedious, will be gone, my visions (I cannot call them hopes) of usefulness and moderate reputation destroyed,

"Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error."

Notes of the state of his health now become painfully frequent, and after two more months of work he longs for some relaxation. 'I am somewhat drawn off from my history by the thought of going to Italy, or at least Switzerland; and having accidentally fallen on the subject of Indian history with Lord Jeffrey, I am again beset with the wish to consult him; and the chance of such an opportunity prevents my acting steadily on my old resolution. Add to this the discouraging task of verifying and abstracting Orme. He is so constantly in the right that I have no great curiosity about his authorities, and I feel that every word left out injures the interest. I have been lately at many pleasant parties, at which M. Guizot and Lord Jeffrey were the principal novelties.'

On the following day he wrote to Lord Jeffrey, and heard in reply that he had already made two or three calls while he was from home for the purpose of speaking on this very subject. The papers were accordingly sent off, and he prepared himself for disappointment by drawing up an imaginary criticism on his own volumes, in which their possible defects are enumerated. 'The best I must hope from Lord Jeffrey is a prospect of moderate success, on condition of hard labour.' Having relieved his mind by this summing up of his own deficiencies, he started on a short excursion to Oxford. On his return he received the advice which decided the fate of his work.

'*May 13.*—I set out from Reading yesterday at ten, and reached Paddington, thirty-nine miles, in an hour and a half. I got to the Albany by twelve, and before I had closed the door Lord Jeffrey presented himself at it. He was to leave town to-day, so that nothing could be more lucky. I found he had written two notes to me, and now came to read over the contents. His advice to publish was warm and decided, and the more evidently sincere because it was not accompanied by any extravagant estimate of the book. His chief praise is for candour and clearness; his censure (though that is too strong a word) is for want of confidently pronounced opinions and consequent languor. I asked him if compression was not required, and he said he could not tell whether there might not be more said on particular subjects than was necessary, but that the mere style was very concise, and the parts he read were not heavy. He recommends the immediate publication of the part that is finished. This settles my fate. I have now an occupation and an interest that ought to keep me awake, with very little help from Dr. Philip.'

He now set to work with renewed energy. Having arranged with Mr. Murray for the publication of his volumes, he became impatient to get free from the interruptions and distractions of London, and retired at first to the neighbourhood of Norwood, where he worked with assiduity at the revision of his manuscript, and passing it through the press. The following letter to Mr. Erskine was written during its progress:—

‘Albany, October 24, 1840.

‘My dear Erskine,—I put off thanking you for your letter, expecting every week to be the last of my preparation for the press; but details grow on one in such an occupation, and I have only yesterday deposited my book with Mr. Murray. Peace be to its memory. I was very much interested in the facts you relate regarding the combination of great officers in Humáyun’s army. Their proceedings are quite in the style of the barons of King John or Henry III. They explain the long struggle between Akber and his military aristocracy, which forms an important part of his reign. The existence of parties in Akber’s camp, and the opposition of the old nobles to Behráṁ, also throws great light on the known facts. I have not made any use of these elucidations, for the same reason that I never consulted you about the Mussulman part of my compilation, which was that it was not fair to profit by your observations on subjects which you intended yourself to treat. My supposition was that Behráṁ raised a party against him by his pride and severity when in power. In Humáyun’s time I supposed that he was rather popular. But my account is consistent with yours, and only differs from it in being incomplete. I hope you are at work on your “History.” If I could read Persian books as you can, I should stop the press, and begin a new house of Taimur to-morrow. And yet I look on the poets as the least valuable part of your stores. I am quite certain that your original, yet sober views will give a much clearer conception of the Indian character, and the state of society in India, than anything that has ever been before the public. But be bold (which is not easy after sixty), and do not think that the “History” itself is of so much importance as your own opinions.

‘What you say about Taimur’s “Memoirs” is very extraordinary, but I cannot bring myself to doubt their authenticity. Walter Scott could not have invented them—such a compound of perfidy and cruelty, cant and hypocrisy, genuine superstition and fanaticism, with unequalled courage and saga-

city, and all set forth with the *naïveté* of "The Annals of the Parish." Buonaparte, Oliver Cromwell, and Louis XI. were only separate fragments of his character, and yet all comes out as natural and harmonious as the autobiography of a German professor.

'Yours most sincerely,

'M. ELPHINSTONE.'

At the beginning of the following year I find him in London, busily occupied with the continuation of the work, but under difficulties arising from the state of his health which rendered him almost hopeless of completing it.

Other causes besides illness now contributed to interfere with its completion. In the course of the year he experienced a series of losses of his nearest relatives. In August he had to record the death of one of his nieces, and this was followed by that of her father, Admiral Fleming, in the following October. The year was not to close without the loss of a sister, whose state had been for some time precarious; and the only survivor, who was married to Mr. Erskine of Cardross, was in a critical state, and died in the following August, and he remained the only survivor of the family.

'August 8.—We have lost poor Kate, the last of my seven brothers and sisters. She expired on the 3rd. Erskine bears his many distresses like a man.'

Much of his time was now taken up with legal business consequent on these successive bereavements, and his sister-in-law having decided to go to Italy with her family, he offered to accompany her to Naples, where she desired to reside. 'My journey,' he writes, 'will put a stop for a time, perhaps for ever, to my "History;" otherwise, after studying Mill and writing out particular passages for trial, I thought I could make as short a history as Mill, more full in facts, and more free from disputes and dissertations.'

He had not got further than Rome when he was attacked by a severe and prolonged illness, under which he quite broke down; and he returned, with a shattered constitution, to Eng-

land in the following spring. When he rallied a little he attempted to resume the work, but he was now quite unequal to any continuous labour, and in a sad hour it was thrown aside for ever.

I close the narrative with a passage from Mr. Elphinstone's journal, in which he gives the reasons which determined him to give up his work. No vindication was necessary, and I only give insertion to them on account of the remarks on the works of his contemporaries and rivals.

‘*June 5.*—On the day before yesterday, having quite finished my account of Bengal affairs, from the beginning down to the battle of Plassey, I compared it with Mill's. His is little more than half the length of mine, yet seems enough for public curiosity. It takes much the same view of affairs as I do, at least not more unfavourable to the actors. The offensive thing in it is the cynical, sarcastic tone, and that has at least the good effect of giving zest and spirit to the story. My accounts contain many things which he leaves out, some of them important. Though the general result of our decisions is the same, I defend or excuse some things which he severely blames; and, on the other hand, severely blame some things which he passes without notice. It is doubtful whether the public may think my additional facts interesting enough to make up for the additional length, especially as my narrative is never lively; but the worst thing is that I present no new results. Clive is not vindicated, nor the stain of bad faith wiped off from our countrymen. The issue of these reflections was a conviction that I should not succeed in the future part of my History, and a very strong inclination to give it up altogether. I will own I was a good deal depressed at this prospect, and all along determined not to give in until I had looked into Hastings' time, and seen whether I was likely to take any new views there. My despondency is so great that I think I should desist if it were not for the fear of feeling the want of an employment. It is not that I could not fill up the four or five hours actually occupied by my work, but I should miss a subject to think on, whenever other subjects fail (on my walks, &c.), and also the

sense of having a serious task on hand, which gives to my other readings the appearance of amusement, out of which I am not mortified by deriving no advantage.

‘There is an answer to this, however: my book must be finished some time, and then the want of occupation must come, after long habit has made employment more necessary. One most serious obstacle to success is the serious state of my health. I cannot read or write, otherwise than standing, without falling asleep; even standing, I am often sleepy. This prevents my reading much at a time, or keeping my attention long enough fixed to take general views, and see what particulars may be left out.

‘I have just read Hume’s account of the Irish massacre with astonishment and admiration. I have been accustomed to consider it as an over-laboured and unsuccessful attempt at a sort of writing for which Hume’s calm temper and habitual distrust of strong impressions entirely disqualify him. I now see with wonder the extent and variety of his powers. Eloquent, glowing, picturesque, almost poetical, he flows on in animated and absorbing narrative, exciting all our feelings, and yet pregnant with profound reflections and impressive lessons of morality. How can one be surprised that such powers of eloquence and imagination, combined with and restrained by the soberest judgment and the calmest philosophy, should produce a History with which no modern attempt can stand a moment’s competition?

‘*June 7.*—I am quite out of spirits at the prospect of giving up my History. I can now understand a man’s sorrow for his wife, whom he thought the greatest of bores in her lifetime. I shall take back my helpmate, partly because it is weak to despair, and partly because Hastings’ government gives a prospect of throwing new lights; but the difficulty is to find industry, to labour without the hope of reward.

‘I have been looking at Mill on part of Hastings’ administration—the Rohilla war, and see no prospect of such a difference of opinion from him as to make it worth my while to go on. I have found out that, from stomach or weather, I

have got a regular attack of hypochondria, and that my depreciation of my work is more the effect than the cause of my low spirits. Still, I feel something of my old disgust at the task, and am all but resolved to give it up.

‘I have hitherto carefully avoided reading any part of Mill’s History until I had finished the same part in my own. I must now adopt an opposite course, and carefully read Mill before I decide to go on or not. I see that Mill is much more candid in the English part of his History than I thought, or than I found him in the native part; his harshness lying more in sneers and sarcastic expressions than in colouring the facts, or even judging of them. I believe he is mistaken in some of his opinions, and that he goes too much into controversy instead of giving results. This was natural while the great subjects of Hastings’ and Lord Cornwallis’s system, and of Lord Wellesley’s policy, were still eagerly debated, and before they could be judged by results. As the disciple of a school of philosophy advancing new opinions, Mill was obliged to resort to argument to establish his principles and destroy those opposed to him. Mill’s third fault is want of sympathy with great and noble characters—indeed, with anybody except men suffering injustice; and, even in this most honourable exception, it is rather indignation at the oppression than tenderness for the sufferer that Mill shows.

‘These faults are accompanied with very great merits, and the question for me is, first, whether I can remove the faults sufficiently to make it worth while writing a new History; and next, whether my merits will so nearly balance Mill’s as to make the removal of the faults turn the scale. One great defect of Mill I have left out—his dry, uninteresting style; but in this I am content to pair off with him, lively narrative not being one of the points in which I hope to excel.’

‘Rome, December 9, 1841.—One good effect of my despondency is its confirming my resolution not to go on with my History. I have no talent for narrative, and that is enough to have been fatal to historians as incomparably superior to me

as their subjects are to mine. I need only mention Fox, whose very name might be expected to give interest to everything he wrote. Who surpasses Mackintosh in large and philosophical views, in statesmanlike reflections, in judgment and impartiality, in skilful delineations of character, and even in abundance of anecdotes, such as might be expected to make a book attractive? and yet what is his success? Now what chance after this has a book of being read (and to be useful it must be read), which, even if accurate, impartial, and judicious, conveys in a heavy style information which few desire to possess? If I had had any doubts remaining, Macaulay's "Review of Hastings' Life" would have put an end to them all. This was the period on which, in former deliberations, I depended for a chance of originality; and now, besides the despair produced by the style and spirit, the whole is placed in so just a light that no future historian can go wrong in his estimate of the actors and the times. Macaulay is sometimes slightly misinformed, his account of some transactions rests too much on the authority of Hastings' enemies, and he is not quite sensible enough of the boldness of Hastings' military plans, and of the dangers and difficulties which attended them; but those small defects an author who had never been in India could easily remove, and no local knowledge would add the least to the truth and distinctness of the general view. I must think of some task to fill up the time formerly occupied by my book. I have been thinking of reading all the Latin classics, and of beginning immediately with Livy, which I have with me. Cicero alone will be a fund of entertainment, and Plautus, the elder Pliny, and some other books will have novelty to recommend them.'

The work that was thus left unfinished has fulfilled all the expectations of its author. It is a valuable manual to those who seek information regarding the early history of India. If it fails to be popular, this springs mainly from the nature of the subject with which it deals. The history of a race so deficient in historical records as the Hindoos resolves itself into a series of antiquarian discussions, and that of the Mohammedan period, important as it is in its bearings on

modern history, becomes insipid from the sameness of the revolutions which it records. The manner in which Mr. Elphinstone overcame these disadvantages ensured its success, and it was not long ere it became a standard text book in the examinations of the Indian Civil Service at home, and in the universities in India; and when new editions were called for, it was published with notes and additions by Professor Cowell, as to a standard authority, to bring the information regarding the Hindoo period on a level with the advance that had been made in Oriental studies. In speaking of its merits Professor Cowell justly remarks that the 'charm of the book is the spirit of genuine, hearty sympathy with, and appreciation of, the native character, which runs through the whole, and the absence of which is one of the main blemishes of Mr. Mill's eloquent work.'

In commencing an important historical work late in life he laboured under great disadvantages, and I think they had some effect on its composition. It has always struck me that the style of his published works is inferior in force to that of his letters, and still more so to that of his conversation, and does not do justice to the originality and vigour of his mind. He used to speak of his history modestly as a contribution to the great subject he had taken in hand which might aid the future work of some man of genius, and this diffidence of his own powers affects the tone of the work. Much, however, of this belongs to a work which is little more than an introduction to the history of modern India, and deals largely with abstruse matters. He entered on the history of the rise of British power in a more earnest spirit, and the fragment which he left behind is written with more animation. It was but little advanced when it was thrown aside. It is complete till near the close of Clive's second administration, and would form something less than an octavo volume in print. It travels over chapters in history with which the public is now familiar. His estimate of the character of Clive himself has been quoted above. I find among his papers many fragments in which his character is drawn more elaborately, but the outline is the same

as that given in his letter to Mr. Erskine. He commenced the account of Hastings's career, and composed only a few detached passages. I looked with much curiosity for anything which would show his estimate of that great statesman's career and character. He would defend him warmly in private conversation, but without exalting him into a hero. The spirit in which he took up the history of Hastings's administration is expressed in the first of a series of notes and fragments which he left in a portfolio. It is headed 'Hastings's accession':—

'We have reached the opening of another year, and if we do not yet find perfect purity in pecuniary transactions, or a policy perfectly free from blame, we at least see gleams of public spirit and generous principles, and have one shining example of high ambition, brilliant talents, and heroic enterprise.'

A closer view of Hastings's career led him to paint his character in harsher colours. In a fragment which I find among the same papers, which form part of an elaborate but unfinished portrait of this statesman, he expresses very strongly his disgust at the indirect ways, and even false representations of his own conduct, frequently employed by him. This he contrasts with the straightforwardness of Clive. 'Half of the imputations,' he remarks, 'that have been cast upon his conduct originated in his own indirect and mysterious reports of it, and his great actions never appear with less truth than when related by himself. Clive's fearless avowal gives dignity to avarice, while Hastings's subterfuges bring contempt upon ambition.'

His estimate of Hastings's character is summed up in a letter to Grant Duff, of which I find an extract folded in the sheet which contains the preceding remarks:—

'Hastings's is a character more complicated, and better worth writing, but much more difficult to draw. Incomparably superior in intellect and extent of views to all other Indian governors; bold and enterprising to temerity; firm beyond the utmost trials; naturally virtuous and open, but sometimes driven into situations where he was led to prefer crime to failure, and always obliged to present his actions to judges entirely incapable of understanding his high motives,—by

these means he became somewhat unscrupulous in his actions, and almost always shuffling and indirect in his account of them. When he thought of seizing the empire of India, he told the Directors that his only view was to put some money into their pockets: they would have removed him at once if they had suspected any greater design.'

I must add one more fragment from this collection, written a few months later:—

'*Rome, November 9, 1841.*—After treating of Clive and Hastings, I draw the moral that openness and sincerity are indispensable to the heroic character. The mighty powers and ardent public spirit of those two fail to excite unmixed admiration, because they are associated with indirectness of conduct. Even the superhuman intellect of Napoleon, the boldness and confidence with which he acted in scenes which to others seemed covered with darkness and danger, do not command our admiration, because they are mixed with craft in the means and selfishness in the end. The object of an historian is to show what these men might have been had their virtue been equal to their talents, or even had their openness been in harmony with their courage in other cases.

'There is one example of a General whose successes in war, and genius for politics, though they surpass all his contemporaries, and most of his predecessors, are doubled in their effect by the disinterestedness and sincerity of his character; and even his public zeal and self-devotion do not so far elevate and sanctify his nature as the invariable sincerity, simplicity, and directness which are the leading features in his conduct.'

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CHAPTER XIX.

CONCLUSION, 1842-1859.

RETIRES TO THE COUNTRY—A RETROSPECT—THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—LETTERS ON THE HISTORY OF THE MOHAMMEDANS IN INDIA—VIEWS ON AFGHAN AFFAIRS—REVIEW OF KAYE'S HISTORY—LETTERS ON THE SATTARA ADOPTION; ON THE ANNEXATION OF OUDE—THE INDIAN MUTINY AND THE REMODELLING OF THE ARMY—GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—CONCLUSION.

I HAVE now to bring this narrative to a close. The shattered state of health which compelled Mr. Elphinstone to give up his history led him to withdraw still more from society, and eventually from London. When I met him on his return from Italy in the spring of 1842, the account he gave of the severity of his late illness, and the still more severe treatment he underwent, caused his friends much anxiety. From this precarious state he rallied under the treatment prescribed for him by Dr. Chambers, and by careful regimen he enjoyed as fair a share of health as could fall to the lot of one whose constitution had been undermined so young, and who had now reached his sixty-third year.

In the autumn of 1844 he rented a small house at Ockley, in the Weald of Surrey, on the border of a large village green. Thence he removed to Parkhurst, in the neighbourhood of Leith Hill and of Evelyn's Silvæ, and finally to Hookwood, a delightful residence at the foot of the chalk range, and within a walk of rich views of the weald. All these residences were more or less secluded, and wanting in easy access to friends who sought his society. He felt some hesitation in committing himself to a life of retirement, and retained his chambers at the Albany till his settlement at Hookwood in 1847, where he passed the last twelve years of his life.

He was now a confirmed invalid ; he could not mix much with his neighbours, and was dependent for society on the visits of relatives and friends who sought him out, and to whom he gave a warm and affectionate greeting, and would give himself up to discuss the thousand topics of interest with which his mind was stored. Friends would remark on his never-failing cheerfulness under these privations. But I have before me a more striking evidence of this in the volumes of journals, five in number, in which he recorded, as in former days, the incidents of every-day life. There is occasionally a sad tone when he refers to the loss of friends, attacks of illness, and increasing infirmities, such as a growing deafness which embarrassed him when in the society of friends. I scarcely noticed this last failing, for whenever I visited him he was either quite alone, or in a very small circle, and he would converse with as much force and eagerness as ever.

To carry on a sustained conversation with him alone was a serious effort, and I well remember one occasion when I arrived in the afternoon that he at once entered into a conversation which continued until a late hour. Next morning he began again quite fresh, and we continued our discussion almost without a pause until late in the afternoon, when I felt quite exhausted by the encounter. In conversation, so far from claiming his full share, he delighted to throw one on one's defence. Being at that time rather given to advance crude remarks on all sorts of subjects, he would challenge my views and compel me to defend them, but with such natural courtesy and deference that he made me quite forget the disparity of our years.

He was always eager in discussion. A common friend once remarked that in the most crowded thoroughfare he would stop short, face you, and challenge you to reply. This has happened to me frequently, and more than once have I been asked to repeat passages of Greek poetry in the middle of a crowded thoroughfare. Once it was the conclusion of the speech of Medea in the tragedy of Euripides before she kills her

children. When I had finished the quotation he passed on, repeating the last lines musingly.¹

Though eager in conversation on topics in which he was interested, I never noticed the turn for controversy with which he reproached himself when young. His manner in large circles was very retiring, but among intimate friends he was easily roused, and would express himself with a force and happiness of illustration that I never saw surpassed.

It has occurred to me in reading his journals that the practice he pursued through life of recording his opinions on books and things added much to the force and precision of his remarks. His notes on books rarely extended beyond the limits of conversation, a little more expanded and sententious, and lighted up with the same vein of wit and poetry. What was common to both was the broad views, sound good sense, and acuteness which they displayed.

But charms of conversation are but the ornaments of a great character. What endeared him to his many devoted friends was the warm sympathy which he took in their affairs, which made them resort to him again and again for advice as they would to an elder brother. I have heard of many instances of the affectionate interest he took in the affairs of his own relations, and indeed I have ample confirmation of this in the pages that are before me.

The range of his reading was very wide, and it will not surprise those who have followed this narrative that a large part of the notes in his journals are on works of imagination. He was always a great reader of novels, and during the first year or two of his country life he gave himself up to the drama, ancient and modern. One of the volumes of journals, ranging over about a year, consists almost solely of short notes on the plays of Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Shirley, Marlowe, Massinger, Otway and Congreve, Terence and Plautus, Metastasio, Monti, and Molière, with occasional glimpses of Shakespeare and Euripides.

¹ καὶ γὰρ εἰ κτενεῖς σφ' ὅμως
φίλοι γ' ἔφυσαν, δυστυχῆς δ' ἐγὼ γυνή

Sometimes his remarks are more extended, the result of thought, and carefully arranged. But the notes are for the most part brief and suggestive, and if brought together would form a pleasant volume of table-talk. During the last few years, when it cost him an effort to write, the practice was almost discontinued. He refers, as before, occasionally to his reading, but the journal consists for the most part of notes of visits of friends, family affairs, with some touching references to his increasing infirmities, and dealing more than usual with political affairs, especially those of India.

I have, therefore, made only a sparing selection from these volumes. The few extracts that I offer are chiefly of personal interest, or have some bearing on the politics of the country in which he had passed his best days. I am fortunately able from them and other sources to give his views on many Eastern subjects which engaged public attention during the period embraced in this chapter. He expressed his opinion with diffidence on matters of civil administration regarding a country whose inhabitants were then and are still passing through a great change; but on the relation of our Government with the native states, and on its external affairs, he would express his views with force and decision. The two following extracts from his journal speak for themselves.

‘*October 8, 1843.*—The 6th was my sixty-fourth birthday. When I left India I wished to have five years of home. I have had fifteen, and have escaped most of the evils I then apprehended. Indeed, notwithstanding ill-health, this part of my life has been as happy as any long and inactive portion of the preceding years. The disappearance, in such quick succession, of so many relations, friends, and contemporaries has thrown a shade over the last three or four years of my life; and the nearer prospect of its close discourages such undertakings as give an interest to what remains. Yet still, taking the present alone, the goods of life much exceed the evils: it is the certainty that the future will be worse, and the uncertainty to what extent it may be so, that makes it decidedly desirable to

close the account at this time. I say this of a person whose absence would be so little felt as mine. To one who felt himself useful life could never cease to be of value. This leads me to a retrospect of my life since I left India, and to the question whether, with less indolence and more public spirit, I might not have made my time more useful to others and more interesting to myself. But that question was fully and fairly considered before I resolved on retirement. I had a strong conviction that inefficiency, to say the least, would have been the result of my going into Parliament, or engaging in any other public business here (an impression which my subsequent experience and observation has confirmed). The state of my health would have made me as inefficient in India; and there was no great task to be fulfilled in that country which I might hope to accomplish by an effort, in spite of general debility and decline. Yet this is the most questionable of the cases in which I have declined opportunities of action. I look on Metcalfe's career with admiration, but without any self-reproach from the comparison. He had talents for business which I never possessed, unimpaired health and activity, admirable coolness and temper, knowledge of the sort most useful in the affairs he was to conduct, with feelings and opinions the best suited to the times and to the people with whom he had to deal. There remained the activity of private life, and the management of charitable, literary, and other associations, and the promotion of useful objects, to which private exertions might contribute. For these, my diffidence and aversion to bustle, my slowness and hesitation when not acting alone and on my own responsibility, and many other reasons, made me utterly incapable. Among them, I ought perhaps to be ashamed to own, was a contempt for employment on a small scale, which seemed more dull and degrading than absolute idleness. I tried the only remaining line, authorship; and, though without hopes of gaining reputation by the pursuit, I should not relinquish it if my infirmities did not daily render me more unfit for the task.

'I hope I have vindicated myself from the reproach of sloth

and selfishness, the only one that has now and then pressed upon my conscience. Though perfectly indifferent to honours, I still retain an ardent desire for real distinction; and if any path had opened, I do not think my natural caution so much increased, or my love of enterprise so entirely extinguished, as to have prevented my entering on it, even without the higher motive of a sense of duty.'

'*September 16, 1852.*—The Duke of Wellington died on the day before yesterday, and has left a blank which can never be filled up. The nation seems to have lost the support on which it could rely in all exigencies, and to be left, without an arbiter, to the conflicting counsels of inferior men. Even I have lost a constant object of attachment and veneration during fifty years, though, for nearly the whole of that period, I have only admired him at a distance. His end was as fortunate as the rest of his career, as he was in perfect health, and full possession of his faculties, up to the last day of his long and glorious life.

'*September 23.*—The anniversary of the battle of Assye. This day's paper gives the Queen's letter about the Duke's funeral, and comes at the end of a series of notices of the intense feeling produced, in every place and every class in the kingdom, by the death of one on whose wisdom and rectitude it had been so long accustomed to rely. Among the last and best articles of those that have appeared in every newspaper is one from the ultra-Radical "*Dispatch*," and another from the "*Assemblée Nationale*." What gained him the respect and confidence of friends and foes seems to have been, even more than his great achievements, his perfect sincerity, his simplicity and singleness of purpose, and his all-ruling sense of duty. He is everywhere pointed out as a perfect model of the English character, and the sympathy of the nation justifies the assertion.

'*November 18.*—This is the day of the Duke's funeral, and the public enthusiasm, which has never flagged for a moment, is now at its utmost height. Crowds are rushing up from the country, and London itself is in a perfect state of commotion.

Le Beauvoir went to London yesterday; three trains passed Croydon before he could get a seat, and he could scarcely make his way through the crowds in the Strand and other main streets. All the shops along the line of the procession were turned into boxes, with rows of benches rising to the roof. Temple Bar was hung with black, as was the Opera House and some other buildings. The crisis of the Ministry and the establishment of the Empire in France are passing almost unheeded; and all this for an old warrior, who has not drawn his sword for thirty-seven years, and who in his civil station has been opposed to almost every object for which the people were most eager. It fills me with admiration both of the hero and the nation: the hero, for the undeviating firmness and rectitude which could alone command such permanent attachment; and the nation, which was capable of estimating such qualities, and had steadiness enough to retain its sense of them unabated for such a length of time. I have been in the habit of regarding the nation as absorbed in the enjoyment of peace and plenty, sunk in sloth and apathy, and incapable of excitement by any public or national feeling, except on subjects that threatened to interfere with its comfort or its pockets; but now I am satisfied that it is *old* England still, and that if, unfortunately, there should be a war again, it would rise to a man, as in the old days of Buonaparte's ascendancy.'

Mr. Elphinstone's correspondence with Mr. Erskine was continued till 1852, and refers chiefly to the literary labours of that gentleman. It has been seen that he was urgent in pressing his friend to write on the Mohammedan period of Indian history, or at least on that part which was covered by the Mogul dynasty, and immediately preceded the rise of British power. He now rendered to his friend the same office which Mr. Erskine had rendered to him. He read that part of the work which was complete, and was confined to the reigns of Baber and Humáyun, and he advised him to publish it at once. Mr. Elphinstone was very sanguine of success, and his eagerness in pressing his friend affords an amusing contrast with his diffidence as regards his own work. Mr. Erskine's work did not meet with the

popular favour his friend anticipated. It failed to excite an interest in a period of history which is little more than a wearisome succession of military revolutions. This is inherent in the subject. There are other difficulties which a writer on Eastern subjects has to face, and which are very strongly put by Mr. Elphinstone himself in one of his letters to his friend, and from which I give a large extract. The first part gives his opinion in complimentary terms on the work, and adds some suggestions as to details. It proceeds:—

‘Ockley, September 19, 1845.

‘. I have mentioned leaving out proper names as an advantage. I really think they are the bane of Oriental history. They are all so like each other, and so unlike everything else, that a European seldom even looks at them, never remembers them. The consequence is that he has nothing to connect the facts, and instead of tracing individual characters, as shown in different situations, he is in a perpetual puzzle to find out who did what. There must necessarily be a great number of names, and the difficulty must be met manfully without ever making the least real sacrifice to avoid it; but there is no need of crowding the stage with useless actors, who would be in the way, even if their names were as plain as Henry and Edward. For this and other reasons I would leave out, or rather curtail many accounts of subordinate actions, such as of partial invasions of Ferghana, co-operating with a greater one, sieges with the names of officers, when a list of the forts taken might suffice. When these details are drawn from new and inaccessible sources, such as Muza Haider, they ought often to be inserted, because in such cases even the materials are of value, and may turn to account in unforeseen ways hereafter; but when they are taken from well-known and accessible books, like your own Baber, there is no such motive for introducing them. The smallest details, when they have any sort of interest of their own, should be diligently sought for. Even proper names, though they occur but once, ought never to be omitted when they help to give life and reality to the story, as

in the case of the Gokultásh, who accompanied Baber in his flight to the hills, and of Tambol's two soldiers who pursued him. I am afraid I shall bore you about names, which, unless skilfully employed, seem to me to shut out as many general readers as Kant's "Terminology" does metaphysicians. The first thing is, as far as possible, to choose marked and pronounceable names for the chief actors—indeed, for everybody, as far as can be done; and for this object you must submit to a little barbarism and vulgarity. I do not believe plain Taimur is ever written in the East; but if you put Amir Taimur, there is a chance of his being confounded with other Amirs, and also with other Taimurs (as Kutlugh Taimur, Toghrul Taimur, &c.). Taimur alone points out the Taimur, as Cæsar does the greatest of that name. In more obscure names it is shocking to call Seif ul Mulk *Seif*, or Saiad Kernál u din Ahmed *Kernál*, (in a familiar instance), Suraj u. Doulah, *Suraj*; but you must at any cost extricate the individuals from the crowds of *u dins* and *u Doulahs*. When there was a talk about Sind, people used to say they could not make out the story, because all the actors were Mir Alis. If the writers had said Sohráb instead of Mir Sohrab Ali, and if any one could have brought himself to put "Gholam" instead of "Mir Gholam Ali," the difficulty would have vanished. For this reason I would leave out titles. Every Tartar chief seems to be "Sultan," and "Sultan" is very often part of a proper name (as Sultan Weis). I would leave them all out, as titles, except where from custom they make an individual, as Sultan Mahmoud (of Ghazni) is known among a hundred Mahmouds. The few titles kept should be used as much as possible to mark classes, as Khan for the great Tartar chiefs, Mirza for descendants of Taimur. I do not know what class *Amir* designates, but it should always be written one way, not sometimes Mir. The thing of all things at present is to leave off correcting, and hasten to put your facts and your reflections on them into form. Life is uncertain. If yours is to be short, you may not have time to put down the results of your long inquiries; and if long, you will have ample time to cut out and correct as you

please. Brougham says Voltaire wrote two-thirds of his works, and many of the best of them, between sixty-five and eighty-five. It is so little in your nature to be flimsy or presumptuous, that I should not be surprised if a little haste in the composition rather improved the work. Leave out unimportant periods, and dash on to Akber and Aurungzebe, and then do not stop to verify dates while you are warm with your general subject. Not that I undervalue dates. I think them of the first importance, and find the rareness of them in most European histories as great a grievance as the frequency of proper names is in ours. I even find fault with you for not putting the year of our Lord in the margin as well as the Hejira. I hope, in Baber's words, that you will "forgive all these fooleries, and not think the worse of me for them." I wait your instructions about disposing of the MS. I think you are right not to press the publication, because it would take off your thoughts from what remains to be done. I was much interested in what you say about German writers. Goethe must certainly have been a man of genius, but I cannot help doubting whether his immense reputation does not in part arise from the state of German literature when he wrote, and from the multifarious nature of his writings, and from his constant activity and general communication with other distinguished persons. In these respects he is something like Leibnitz, also a man of genius, who in his day filled as great a place as Goethe, and is now hardly known except to mathematicians. Much the same is the case with Petrarch, whose reputation survives almost entire, but would probably have shared the fate of Leibnitz if it had not been supported by a few sonnets, which he was almost ashamed of writing. The apotheosis of Beethoven puts me out of all patience. This is the golden age of fiddlers. Neither Frederick the Great, nor Martin Luther, except from the burschen, nor even Goethe himself, have had such commemoration.

'Yours most sincerely,

'M. ELPHINSTONE.'

‘Ockley, October 16, 1845.

‘My dear Erskine,—I am rejoiced to hear that you have begun Akber, though my satisfaction is daunted by learning that you have still to read. I wish you had all your facts before you, and had only to give your views of them.

‘Although the nature and object of his wars, external and internal, are of much importance, there is nothing in the details that calls for much notice—I mean the mere military details of campaigns and sieges; those that do deserve mention are interesting in themselves. On the other hand, there is a fine field for the sort of writing that is natural to you. What can be more curious, instructive, or even entertaining, than a view of the state of religious and philosophical opinion among Hindoos and Mohammedans which led to Akber’s new religion, but failed to carry it through? For this, from your former writings, I suppose you are fully prepared. An account of the progress of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions in India, and their mutual influence in bringing about modifications, with the degrees of toleration and persecution at various times, the amount of conversion, and (if possible) the means by which it was brought about, would be quite new, and would not occupy much room. If I might venture to judge, all this is quite in your line. Akber’s internal improvements would also give an opportunity for a summary view of the former history and actual state of the judicial and revenue systems and the police up to his time, tracing their progress, as far as materials can be found, from the Hindoo institutions. These and similar topics would give employment for what I think your peculiar talent. I am very far from undervaluing your extraordinary accuracy, which in itself (as Gibbon says of Tillemont) almost amounts to genius, nor do I forget that the main object of your work is to give what has never been attempted, a complete and accurate history of the Mogul Empire in India.

‘I agree in what you say about omitting details in the part already written; and, in some degree, to the propriety of

making India the principal object; but I cannot give up a word of the account of the Tartar tribes, nor would I leave out a single anecdote or transaction that illustrated them and their manners and character (or that of any other people). I quite agree with you as to the expediency of placing the histories of the independent kingdoms (Sind, Guzerat, Malwa, &c.) in an appendix. I have done so in my second edition. My only doubt is about the Rajpoots, who, if you have materials and inclination for it, might furnish a splendid episode, if indeed they did not form an essential part of the history. The great objection is that, if you have not Tod at your fingers' ends, it will give you more trouble to pick out the substance of them than that of the whole of the Persian "*Corpus Historicum*."

'Yours most sincerely,

'M. ELPHINSTONE.'

'June 7, 1847.

'My dear Erskine,—. . . I am very glad to hear that you do not despair of your history, at least as far as the reign of Akber. My only difficulty in appreciating the labour of studying Persian books is to find a limit to my conception of it; I can only get the vague idea of infinity. The difficulty you mention of learning anything about the moral or physical state of society, in a wide sense, is the great misfortune of all. Such subjects are beneath the dignity of Persian history, and must be got at by putting together scraps of travels, bits of letters and biographies, fragments of laws and regulations, of legends of saints; above all, tales and jest books. As these last are all inventions they must be drawn from the author's own observation of life and adapted to the ideas of his readers, neither of which is confined to a particular class. In this they excel even memoirs. Chaucer shows more of the general way of acting and thinking in Richard II.'s time than the 170 volumes of Petitot do at any one period in France. It is true that in Mussulman tales the principal characters may be jackals, and the stories borrowed from old fables in Sanscrit, but the particulars must all be of the writer's time. The court of

Theseus and the populace of Sarra in the land of Tartary are all Englishmen of Chaucer's age. I cannot guess where such scraps are likely to be found, because I cannot read even the red letter headings of chapters which give some notion of what a book is about ; but with your application and your familiarity with bad hands you might gather a great deal ; and if in a thousand *ghotehs*² you found a pearl, you would know the value of it, and where it ought to be set. You have a great advantage from your residence in India and your long-continued attention to the realities of that country. We constantly see the best European writers, with abundance of facts before them, completely miss the spirit of an age or country very different from their own. Guizot thinks the essential character of feudal times consisted in the *perfect* independence of many petty chiefs in one country (which would be like the tyrants and oligarchies in Greece, the Malúk il Tooaf in Persia, or the Nabobs, Rajas, and Poligars in modern India) ; while most other writers think the peculiarity of the feudal system lay in the dependence of many chiefs, nearly absolute within their own fiefs, on one common sovereign, and the mutual relations among themselves produced by this connection. For national character, take Mitford's view of the Athenians, and that of any democratic writer, or take two people describing the Highlanders as late as the middle of last century. One sees paternal government, polished manners, high spirit, and generous self-devotion ; while another finds nothing but greed, treachery and cruelty, servility and terror. Now in India there have been no exterminations of races, no Martin Luthers nor French revolutions, which make the eighteenth century in Europe as different from the fifteenth as China is from Persia. The groundwork of society in India is probably little different from what it was in the time of the Toghluks, perhaps even in that of the Pándus. But to make use of your advantages you must *breakfast late*, and must give up all attention to minute events in war and politics. I have, in what only professes to be an outline, given

² Acts of diving.

up whole days to settle whether a siege took place in June or July, which, if employed on the nature of a village community of the present day, might have thrown some light on the state of society during many ages. What you say of the Prussian Constitution is most interesting, and events have already shown the justice of your view. I was astonished at the general disposition to treat it as a trifling, or merely apparent concession. To me it seems likely to operate a more general and more beneficent (though more gradual) change than the French Revolution. It lets in a popular element, and "the stream which could have been stopped by a spadeful of earth cannot now be forded on an elephant." I only wish it may take time to work itself a channel, and not rush out to deluge the country.

‘Yours most sincerely,
‘M. E.’

It seems strange that there is no allusion to Affghan politics in the journal of 1838-9; and there is only occasional and very slight attention to the crisis of 1841-2 in the journal of that date. How strongly he felt as to the impolicy of the action of the Government in the original invasion of the country has been already mentioned. His opinions were freely given to his friends on both occasions.

The Countess Usedom informed me that the first to convey to him the news of the intended invasion was an old Bombay friend, Colonel Barnwell. That gentleman called on him, and had hardly made the announcement, when Mr. Elphinstone started from his chair with the exclamation ‘Impossible!’ Colonel Barnwell came to their house to repeat this. His views were more fully, but not more emphatically, expressed in a letter addressed to an anonymous correspondent, which appeared in Sir J. Kaye’s ‘History of the Affghan War’ :—

‘You will guess what I think of affairs in Caubul. You remember when I used to dispute with you against having even an agent in Caubul, and now we have assumed the protection of the State as much as if it were one of the subsidiary allies in India. If you send 27,000 men up the Durra-i-Bolan

to Candahar (as we hear is intended), and can feed them, I have no doubt you will take Candahar and Caubul, and set up Soojah; but for maintaining him in a poor, cold, strong, and remote country, among a turbulent people like the Affghans, I own it seems to me to be hopeless. If you succeed, I fear you will weaken the position against Russia. The Affghans were neutral, and would have received your aid against invaders with gratitude: they will now be disaffected, and glad to join any invader to drive you out. I never knew a close alliance between a civilised and an uncivilised state that did not end in mutual hatred in three years. If the restraint of a close connection with us were not enough to make us unpopular, the connection with Runjeet, and our guarantee of his conquests, must make us detested. These opinions, formed at a distance, may seem absurd on the spot; but I still retain them, notwithstanding all I have yet heard.'

I may add, as a sequel to this, the opinion he expressed to his friend Metcalfe on the conquest of Sind. I quote from a letter that was published in Kaye's *Life*. 'I do not know if you have time to think of India. Sind was a sad scene of insolence and oppression. Coming after Affghanistan, it put one in mind of a bully who had been kicked in the streets, and went home to beat his wife in revenge. It was not so much Lord Ellenborough's act, however, as his General's. Gwalior, as far as we know (for our acquaintance with the origin of the dispute is very imperfect), seems a compensation for our misconduct in Sind. We seem to have interfered with propriety, fought a battle that reminds one of old times, and used our victory with moderation. The heavy loss must have all been from the guns, for I see Sindia's once celebrated infantry now fight with tulwars, like the barbarians of Meeanee.'³

The only recorded opinion, written during these events, that I find among his papers is a memorandum on the case of his relative, General Elphinstone, in reply to the strictures on his conduct in Lieutenant Eyre's narrative of the events which ended in the destruction of the British force. The memo-

³ *Lives of Indian Officers*, i. 304.

random describes the weakness of our position in the country, the feebleness in the Government, and the defenceless state of the cantonment, the scattered state of the troops and departments when the insurrection broke out. It then gives a succinct narrative of the events which followed in rapid succession, with a view to point out that the indecision which was shown by General Elphinstone, and his reliance on the opinion of others, went no further than was justifiable in such unparalleled difficulties on the part of a General whose frame was shattered by illness, and who was unable personally to take a part in the operations, or even to reconnoitre the ground of which they were the field. Though General Elphinstone's conduct was severely criticised at the time, I think there was no disposition, even in those days of anxiety and shame at our reverses, to judge the General harshly, and I do not think it necessary to publish this vindication now. It was drawn up, as the endorsement shows, for Sir James Graham and Lord Willoughby, with a view, it may be presumed, of being used in case of any reflection on General Elphinstone's conduct in either House of Parliament.

There is another memorandum relating to Affghan affairs among his papers, written some years later, and which will, I think, prove of interest. It is a review of the policy of the Government in 1838, suggested by the perusal of Kaye's history. This is followed by some remarks on the tone and character of the work, and on the conduct of Sir W. Macnaghten during the insurrection, which he thinks was unfairly treated by the historian, intermixed with some observations on our future policy, and on the line of defence against invasion from the west; this last he treats as a military question on which he would not pronounce too confident an opinion. The whole memorandum is copied out in a clerk's hand in the journal for the year 1852.

'*January* 20.—I have just finished Kaye's "History of the War in Affghanistan." As I had not read any connected history of the war, or the blue-book published on the occasion of it, it gave me a great deal of information. It shows more clearly than ever the vanity of the attempt to restore Shah Shujah to

the throne, or indeed to restore the Dooraunee monarchy in any shape. Not only had the Suddozye family in a great measure lost the attachment of the Dooraunees, but the Dooraunees themselves had lost the supremacy over the Affghan nation. Except in Herat, which had been for many years detached from the monarchy, all power was in the hands of the Barrukzyes, or rather of the family of Payindeh Khan, who governed through the Ghilzies, Kuzzilbashes, and Parseewans, systematically depressing the Dooraunees by depriving them of their privileges, and weakening the authority of their chiefs, while they broke their military spirit, and exhausted their resources by exacting a pecuniary revenue instead of the service of troops. There was therefore no great body in the nation which could be depended on to support any king who might be set up, or to maintain his authority over the rest. Had there been such a body, it would never have been attracted to a king who was imposed upon them by a foreign power, and who must have been governed by its influence. To this must be added that the king's allies were infidels, as well as foreigners, and that their presence was equally repugnant to the fanaticism and the independence which are characteristic of the Affghans.

‘For these reasons, except in its military success, the expedition was a failure from first to last. After the first day of Shah Shujah’s entry into Candahar there never was an hour of perfect quiet, or of reasonable hope that permanent tranquillity would be established. If the outbreak at Cabul had been immediately suppressed, or if it had never taken place, we must have equally withdrawn from the Affghan territory, leaving Shah Shujah’s government to be subverted, and the old anarchy to be restored. All this was not known to Lord Auckland, nor had he perhaps the means of acquiring the knowledge; but he ought not to have entered on so momentous an enterprise while his means of forming a right judgment on it were so incomplete. One thing indeed was evident, that to answer the purpose of raising a bulwark against Russia and Persia, it was necessary that our undertaking should be successful in all its

parts. If the King's power was not fully restored, or if it was restored in such a manner as to leave heartburnings among the people, it could only create new elements of discord and weakness.

‘As the case actually stood, our object was to prevent Herat from falling into the hands of the Persians, and to that object our attention ought to have been directed, whatever might be our ulterior views. We could only have assisted Yar Mohammed with money; but money, if supplied in time, would have been sufficient to have turned the scale if it had inclined to the Persians, which, however, though nearly balanced, it never did. When Herat was delivered we should have had time to look about us, and to see what turn affairs took, both in Affghanistan and Europe, and should have been prepared to relieve Herat again, if the King of Persia's attack had been renewed, which, as it happens, it never has been. We need have formed no engagements with Yar Mohammed, and ought to have given no reason to expect anything from us but a supply of money, when we thought the exigency required it, and to have expected nothing from him but that he should attend to his own interests, and maintain his independence.

‘As long as there was a probability that Herat would fall, it was no doubt necessary to consider how we could avail ourselves of the remaining portion of the Affghan country, to oppose the progress of the Persians in the direction of our frontier. But the mutual jealousy of the states composing it made it very desirable to avoid a close connection with any of them. Herat was in possession of the Suddozye king, Kamran, but was really governed by his vizier, Yar Mohammed Khan Alekkozye, who was desirous of extending his power towards Candahar. Candahar was in possession of two or three of the Barrukzye brothers, who were equally afraid of Yar Mohammed, if he should be successful against the Persians, and of the Persians, if they should take Herat. They were accordingly professing friendship to Yar Mohammed, and at the same time tendering their submission to the King of Persia. With the same degree of sincerity they were also professing attachment and deference

to their own brother, Dost Mohammed, from whom they entertained as great apprehensions as from their avowed enemies. The rest of the Affghan territory was in the hands of Dost Mohammed; he was looked on as the head of the Barrukzye family, was in possession of Caubul, had the most extensive share of Affghanistan, and was the ablest and best of all the chiefs, and being also nearest to India, he was the one with whom it would have been most expedient for us to form an alliance, if we formed such a connection at all. Accordingly, it was to him that Lord Auckland in the first instance turned his eyes. I do not know precisely what his designs were, but those of Sir Alexander Burnes were to conciliate Dost Mohammed by procuring him an advantageous settlement of his disputes with the Sikhs, to assist him with a moderate supply of money, and by his means to detach the Candahar chiefs from their connection with Persia, and to form a league in which Herat should be included for repelling the Persians, excluding the influence of Russia. This plan would probably have failed, and, instead of uniting the Affghans, would have involved us in their disputes among themselves. It, however, suited the views of Dost Mohammed, and met with his cordial concurrence; but an insurmountable obstacle presented itself in the nature of his disputes with the Sikhs. Peshawur and other parts of the Affghan country on the Indus had been conquered by the Sikhs, and had been for several years in their possession, and Dost Mohammed expected that this territory should be restored to him, while the Sikhs insisted on retaining it, and at best offered that it should be held as a dependency of the Sikhs by Sultan Mohammed, a brother of Dost Mohammed, but his rival and enemy—a proposal which was still more odious to Dost Mohammed than the direct occupation of the territory by the Sikhs themselves. As we were in close alliance with the Sikhs, it was impossible for us to gratify Dost Mohammed, or even to assist him with money, while this dispute was unsettled, as the means with which we supplied him were as likely to be turned against our allies as against the Persians. The negotiation with Dost Mohammed was therefore broken off, and that prince

having no longer to expect any assistance from us, turned his attention towards the Persians and Russians, by which means he hoped to secure his own safety if those powers should be successful, and even to avail himself of the state of affairs produced by their approach, for the purpose of recovering his lost territories on the Indus. He therefore showed marked attention to a Russian officer, who had arrived at Caubul with a letter from the Emperor, but had been treated with great coldness during the negotiations with Burnes, and he did not conceal his intention of doing all he could to conciliate the invading powers.

‘*January 25.*—I meant only to have noted down the impressions left by Kaye’s book, but I got into a long disquisition, and was interrupted by a visit from Melville and Elphinstone. They came on the 22nd, and went away yesterday.

‘If I return to Kaye, it must be in a more summary way.

‘*January 26.*—Dost Mohammed’s conduct in this negotiation gave no just ground of hostility, or even of offence to us. We had required him to renounce a large portion of the Affghan territory, and had offered him nothing in return, except the forbearance of the Sikhs from further encroachment, and an indefinite promise of assistance from us against a foreign power, with which he did not despair operating a satisfactory arrangement for himself. Neither was any ground of hostility afforded by his proposed negotiations with Persia and Russia. We were not at war with either of those powers, nor did either of them avow any intention of making any attack on our Indian possessions. It would no doubt have been dangerous to our empire to see the authority of Persia and the influence of Russia established at Caubul; but there was no reason to suppose that Dost Mohammed contemplated such a result in his proposed negotiations. He probably expected at the worst to be obliged to profess submission to the King of Persia, and occasionally to pay him tribute, while he resolutely resisted all further attempts to encroach on his independence, a course which had been successfully pursued by the Government of Herat for

more than forty years. He might have also thought it convenient, in his dealings with the Sikhs, and with his rivals in Affghanistan, to have two strings to his bow, and to play off an alliance with England or with Persia against each of his immediate enemies as well as against those powers themselves. Even if it had been highly probable that this trimming policy would fail, and would end in the subjugation of Caubul to the Persians, it would have afforded no ground for an attack on Dost Mohammed. Nothing but an absolute necessity of warding off imminent danger to our own existence would justify our taking possession of a neutral territory to prevent it falling into the hands of an enemy. Now this danger, if it were real, was certainly remote. The Persians might be repulsed at Herat, or they might desist from further encroachments to avoid a quarrel with the English, and they might even be restrained by Russia from similar motives. All this actually took place ; but even if they had taken Herat, the prospect of their subduing and still more of their retaining Affghanistan was remote and uncertain ; and it was equally uncertain, as the event showed, whether our occupation of the Affghan territory would have afforded any security against the apprehended evil.

‘Our invasion of Affghanistan was therefore as unjust as it was impolitic, and in its consequences it led to further injustice of a still more odious character. We had obtained admission to the navigation of the Indus from the Ameers of Sind, on the express condition that we should make no further demand on them. We now demanded a free passage for our armies through the heart of their territories, the temporary occupation of a part of those territories, and a subsidiary treaty which would permanently restrain their independence. All the Ameers (except, I believe, Meer Rustam) rejected these demands, which were then imposed upon them by military force. The only pretence for these arbitrary proceedings was their necessity with a view to an invasion of Affghanistan, which was in itself only justified on the grounds of a similar supposed necessity. The danger to us, on which we founded our demands, proved to be unreal, while those on the grounds of which the Ameer rejected

them were almost immediately realised in the total destruction of their state.

‘On like grounds we forced a passage through the territories of the Khan of Kelat, and on suspicion of duplicity and unfriendly conduct during the passage of our troops he was subsequently attacked, his capital taken, and himself killed.

‘I have said a great deal too much on these past transactions, which have been already so fully discussed. It would be more interesting to speculate on the course which we should now adopt to guard against future invasion from the west. The greatest present danger is from the gradual encroachments of Persia, but these are liable to constant checks and interruptions, and can only be opposed by occasional interposition, such as has been referred to in Herat. In the event of the advance of a large Russian army from Persia, the first question is where it ought to be met. Some think it ought to be at Herat, which commands the narrow tract between the mountains and the desert, through which alone an army can penetrate to the more eastern countries; and they urge that when an enemy has reached the neighbourhood of Candahar he has the choice of roads by which he may either direct his attack on the Punjaub, or on Sind, while he is in possession of a country from which he will be able to recruit his provisions and carriage. The distance of Herat from India and the character of the intervening country and its inhabitants appear to me to afford insuperable objections to the adoption of this plan of defence. The occupation of any other part of Affghanistan has been shown to be a source of weakness rather than of strength, and the question is reduced to a choice between the defence of the passes through the mountains of Soliman, or that of the Indus. This question in relation to foreign invasion can only be settled by military men, but as far as I can judge I think we should make the Indus our frontier, retaining nothing beyond it that is not required to secure the navigation.

‘*February 14.*—Before I forget Kaye’s “Affghanistan” I must mention my impressions of the book, which was all I intended at first to have said. As I had not read any connected

account of the war before, it gave me a good deal of information; as, in addition to the blue-books, Mr. Kaye had access to many private letters, and had conversed with several persons acquainted with the circumstances which he had to relate. Notwithstanding the highly figurative style, the narrative is clear and interesting, but the book on the whole is far from agreeable. This is partly owing to the subject, which is one of the darkest pages in our history, but partly to the author's manner of treating it. It has throughout too much of a personal character, and the pains taken to explore the workings in the minds of the actors is out of proportion to that bestowed on detailing the results. The manner in which this is done is not always judicious, seldom indulgent, and never delicate. Private letters are unscrupulously quoted, hasty expressions in them are brought into prominent view, and passages, which would be unexceptionable in familiar correspondence, are so introduced as to assume an appearance of flippancy, if not vulgarity, from the unsuitableness of their tone to the situation in which they appear. All these defects are most conspicuous in the part of the book that refers to Macnaghten. Notwithstanding high encomiums on his character, and an evident desire to do him justice, the impression left is by no means that of respect, and yet it is easy to see that the same facts differently stated would have produced a picture far more favourable, and not less true. His erroneous view of the feelings of the Affghans and of our position are too conspicuous to require to be so much enlarged on, while his high spirit, his firmness in difficulties, his fearlessness in danger, his confiding temper, and his moderation in vexatious disputes with some of his colleagues are not brought so prominently into view. Some imputations against him are also allowed much more weight than they deserve. Throughout the history, although abundance of praise is bestowed, the dark lines greatly predominate, and they most frequently fall on the principal actors, while hearty praise is confined to those of inferior rank. There is in fact throughout too great a fondness for strong language, especially in invective, and perhaps the reaction produced by this

fault may have led me to speak too harshly of the author in the above observations. It is evident that Mr. Kaye is anxious to do justice. His partialities are always on the favourable side, and his censures never seem to arise from personal animosity. Among the persons in authority, Pollock alone meets with unqualified applause; but among the inferior officers many are painted in bright colours, and apparently with justice and discrimination. Eldred Pottinger and Conolly are given at full length, and with all the admiration which they so well deserve. There is nobody in the book to whom he shows so little mercy as Lord Ellenborough, with whose pretensions he seems to have been provoked, and to whose motives he is often unjust, especially when he ascribes to him "Jesuitical cunning." In those cases Lord Ellenborough's real fault seems to have been that he prematurely affected a comprehensive view and a decided policy, from which he was ashamed openly to recede when fuller information would have justified him in altering his opinions. When he arrived at Calcutta he had enough to dishearten him. He had always thought ill of the Affghan war, and he was met by accounts of the destruction of the force at Caubul, the violent animosity of the Affghan nation, the deficiency of the means of transport, and above all the dispirited and demoralising state of our own Sepoys, as shown in Wylie's force. The despondent views of his predecessor and the known opinions of the Commander-in-Chief must have added to these impressions, which, however much they may have varied from the opinion of well-informed persons in India, do not (by the printed papers at least) appear to have been opposed by his colleagues in Council. He therefore instantly determined on the evacuation of the Affghan territory, and so far he was quite right. But in his eagerness to accomplish his design he attached far too little importance to the relief of our detached garrisons and the deliverance of our prisoners. In his precipitation he also overlooked the season of the year, which afforded full time for operations in Affghanistan, if the state of our forces should appear to admit of it, and which was unfavourable to their immediate withdrawal, even if the state of their equip-

ments had not rendered it more difficult to retreat than to remain. The instructions (beginning with those of March 15, of which Mr. Kaye speaks in terms of high commendation) are defective for want of simplicity and precision. They are full of general maxims and discussions, in which the importance of striking a great blow and of retiring in triumph are so often dwelt on as to throw a doubt over the orders, otherwise so positive, to withdraw at all events, even at the sacrifice of the prisoners and the beleaguered garrisons. He would have escaped all censure if in his instructions to Pollock and Nott he had said plainly that it was his intention to abandon Affghanistan, and that he was determined that the retreat should be completed before the winter set in, and that if either of them was in such a situation as to render an immediate retreat necessary to their safety, they were authorised to enter upon it without delay ; but that if there was no such exigency it was very desirable that a great blow should be struck at the enemy (such as a defeat in a general action, the taking of Caubul, &c.), and that the deliverance of the prisoners was of such high importance that every exertion should be made for effecting it, short of risking the destruction of the force employed for the purpose. He might at the same time have called on Pollock to say whether he could remain at Jellalabad, whether the communications in his rear were safe, and whether he thought it practicable to advance on Caubul with or without the co-operation of Nott from Candahar. He might at the same time have made a similar communication to Nott, and have waited their answers before he came to any further decision. He would have received Pollock's answer in three weeks or a month (that is, before the end of April), and could have immediately communicated the result to Nott, who would then have been enabled to judge whether he should immediately march on Caubul, in case Pollock had undertaken to advance, or make a demonstration in the same direction, or to retreat himself as soon as he thought convenient, if Pollock had declared himself unable to retain his position. In all cases he should have clearly distinguished between the points on which he gave express orders, and those

which he left to the discretion of the generals, acknowledging the high responsibility which he was obliged to impose upon them, and the important service they would perform for their country by the result of their decision. The highest praise is due to Pollock and Nott for the spirit and enterprise which they showed throughout. If their places had been filled by officers of inferior character, the instructions given them would have led to a very different conclusion of the war. As it was, although the entire result of our invasion is humiliating, its termination was as honourable as could have been hoped for in the circumstances. The only points to regret are that there is not a fuller account of the fate of the native prisoners, and that it should have been thought necessary to destroy the bazaar at Caubul—an infliction which fell on the least offending part of the inhabitants, and which was inconsistent with the friendly footing on which we had been living with them during the interval which succeeded our occupation of the city.'

The following two letters were anterior in date to the memorandum just quoted, and give his views on a question that attracted much attention at the time, involving the principles which regulate the succession to Indian sovereignties, and generally our relation to them under existing treaties. The question arose out of the succession to the Sattara state, and derived additional importance from the broad principles laid down by Lord Dalhousie, while announcing the decision of the Government to disallow the right of succession of an adopted heir, and annex the territory to the British dominions.

The views then laid down caused some uneasiness in political circles, and were, I think, generally disapproved of by public officers who had charge of our relations with the native states, while they received unbounded approval from the advocates of 'annexation,' chiefly confined to the revenue, or judicial administrators of our own territory. Under the influence of panic caused by the Mutiny, the British Government withdrew from the position assumed by Lord Dalhousie; and in the proclamation which was issued on the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, the right of adoption is

expressly recognised as the attribute of sovereign states. It is not too much to assume that Mr. Elphinstone's known disapproval of the proceedings of the Government had some influence in bringing about a sounder view of our obligations to these Governments. I find among his papers a mass of materials for a long essay treating the whole question exhaustively. It deals with the special circumstances of the Sattara case, but its principal object is to dispose of the claim of the British Government to be Lord Paramount of India, and, as such, to regulate successions, and to take possession of their territories, as escheats on the failure of direct heirs. In support of these views it traces the history of the rise of our power, and its relation to the Governments with whom it entered into alliance, and by whose aid it built up the great structure of our empire. One cannot but regret that, whether from his usual diffidence, or from the state of his health, he left his task unfinished. The letters, however, which I am about to quote present his views so clearly and so succinctly, as to leave little to be desired. The second was communicated to the Government. They both appeared in my former memoir, published in 1861, and attracted some attention at the time. I must preface them by a few words of explanation.

It will be remembered that one of the most important arrangements in the settlement of the country conquered from the Peshwa was the elevation of the descendant of the old Mahratta dynasty to the sovereignty of a portion of these dominions. Its success as a measure of conciliation cannot be impugned, and the British Government derived all the advantage they anticipated from a policy whose objects were temporary. The success too of the experiment of elevating a young man, whose life had been passed in seclusion, to so high a position, was in another respect complete. The young Raja showed a capacity for administration and a turn for business unusual even in those trained to it from early years.

About the year 1836 depositions were made by the native officers of a regiment in the Bombay territory, that the Raja and his minister had attempted to tamper with them, and by

their means seduce the Sepoys of the regiment from their allegiance to the British Government. In the inquiry which followed further evidence was adduced implicating the Raja, and the charges were investigated by a commission composed of high public officers. Indeed, the inquiry was prosecuted by the Bombay authorities with an eagerness that embarrassed the Government both at Calcutta and at home. An enormous mass of evidence was collected, which satisfied the Government of the truth of the charges; and being at length compelled to act, they took the singularly infelicitous step of inviting the accused prince to acknowledge the truth of the accusation, and renew in more stringent terms the treaty alleged to be broken. Intimation was given that, on his failing to criminate himself, he would be dethroned. The terms were indignantly rejected, and the dethroned prince went into exile.

The British Government did not suffer in reputation from this proceeding, for grave grounds of suspicion were laid before the world, and there was an evident desire to escape from the final step of dethroning him. Mr. Elphinstone certainly thought that the manner in which the inquiry was conducted by a commission, summoning before it a prince whose government we had acknowledged, was a most undignified proceeding; but I am not aware that he ever expressed an opinion on the substantive merits of the case, nor even that he had waded through the mass of evidence and correspondence with which it was overlaid.

It was very different with regard to the second Sattara case. The brother of the dethroned prince was elevated to the throne, and, a few years afterwards, when struck by a mortal disease, he sought to continue the succession by the Hindoo custom of adoption. In all successions to property, as well as sovereignty, this right is interwoven with the religion of the people, and the most ancient practice of hereditary descent. Its importance may be judged by the mere fact that it involves the whole question of collateral descent. When the direct line fails the right of collaterals is regulated by the customary law of adoption; and, as in sovereign families in India, the line of

direct descent more frequently fails than in private life, any claim on the part of the British Government to interfere with, or regulate it according to their own arbitrary views, affects the rights of every principality, and, if unjustly exercised, must ultimately bring every native government under the direct dominion of the British Crown. Its importance as affecting their rights and our own reputation could not be exaggerated, and it was as immediately appreciated by the Government that had to decide the question.

The dying Raja held his territory in sovereignty and perpetuity, ceded by the British Government to himself, his heirs, and successors ; but the same treaty bound him in all important transactions to consult the British Government, and he instantly turned to the British representative to give his sanction to the step. The officer in attendance had no instructions to provide for such a case, and he declined to act ; and the Raja, asserting the right which he considered guaranteed by the treaty, completed the religious ceremony which, as he thought, transmitted the throne to his relation. The most extraordinary part of the proceedings of the British Government, when called upon to decide, consisted in their misinterpretation of this very simple proceeding. The admission of our right to decide as arbiters (a right which is constantly exercised in regard to all native states in the interest of public order) was assumed to be an admission of our right to decide in favour of ourselves. The right of the sovereign was pronounced to be an imperfect one, and the state was declared to have lapsed to the British Government as that of a feudatory whose direct heirs have failed.

I do not remember ever to have seen Mr. Elphinstone so shocked as he was at this proceeding. The treatment of the Sattara sovereignty as a jageer, over which we had claims of feudal superiority, he regarded as a monstrous one ; but any opinion of the injustice done to this family was subordinate to the alarm which he felt at the dangerous principles which were advanced, affecting every sovereign state in India, and which were put forward both in India and at home. The loose manner in which the claim to regulate such questions as lords

paramount, and the assertion of feudal claims of escheat as applicable to every state in India, were frequently commented upon, and he particularly dwelt upon the fallacy which was at the bottom of all the reasoning of the advocates of resumption, that precedents of interference with successions as arbiters supported our claim to decide the question in our own favour. These views were expressed at the time in the letters which I take from a very numerous file in my possession. The first tells its own story; the second was written at my request, with a view to be shown to the Government. I obtained it from him with some difficulty, as he had previously refused an appeal that was made to him by Mr. Hume, to give his opinion publicly on the substantial merits of the case; and I begged him at least to let it be known to the Government how strongly he was opposed to the application of this precedent to states whose sovereignty we acknowledged.

‘Hookwood, May 13, 1849.

‘My dear Colebrooke,—Many thanks for your letter. I suppose the argument will be what you say, that the Raja was placed under so many restrictions that he could not be regarded as a sovereign, but must come under the rules applicable to dependants. But although such an argument might be used by foreign princes who chose to deny the Raja’s sovereignty, it could not be urged by us who have solemnly acknowledged his *sovereignty* in the same treaty that enumerates the restrictions which are put upon the *exercise* of it. Even granting that he is dependent, it does not necessarily follow that his territory, on defect of heirs, is to escheat to the power on which he depends, or that that power has a right to regulate the succession to his possessions. To complete the argument, it is necessary to prove that such has been the invariable practice of India, and must have been understood by the parties to the treaty. To make out this proof, Mr. Willoughby and those who adopt his reasoning proceed to argue that *some* dependent chiefs are subject to this rule, and *therefore* the Raja is subject to it. They instance many enamdars, jageerdars, &c.; but can they show any prince who had been acknowledged as a sovereign to

whom the rule had been applied at the time of the treaty? ⁴ Can they deny that there are now many sovereign princes under limitations similar to those of the Raja, over whom such a right has never been used or pretended to? Nobody will say in Parliament that an adoption by Sindia, the Nizam, the King of Oude, &c., would not be *legal* without our confirmation, or that a son so adopted could not be an heir in the usual sense of the term; nor will anybody allege that on the extinction of the families of those princes, their dominions will devolve on us as an escheat. The claims founded on the general usage, therefore, fall to the ground.

‘But we have claims founded on the treaty itself which deserve a separate consideration. By one article of the treaty the Raja is bound to be guided by our advice in all important measures. No measure can be more important than the adoption of a successor; and if the Raja adopted one in defiance of our remonstrances, or eluded our objections by a clandestine adoption, he would have broken the treaty, and we should be entitled to inflict such punishment as his offence justified, up to annulling the treaty and taking back our cession. Nobody has asserted that such an infraction of the treaty has taken place in this business.

‘Again, we have a claim to the reversion of the Raja’s territory, not as an escheat, but on grounds arising from the nature of the treaty. We ceded the country to the Raja, his heirs, and successors. When these are extinct the treaty is at an end, and things return to the state in which they were before it was concluded. The country, therefore, is once more at our disposal. I do not dispute Holt Mackenzie’s opinion, that the interests and wishes of the inhabitants ought to be consulted in such a case; but their claims are founded on the

⁴ In a subsequent letter he expressed a doubt whether he had not asserted himself too broadly that we had *never* applied the rule about adoption to sovereign states. ‘My doubt,’ he afterwards explained, ‘was whether in our innumerable engagements to dependent chiefs the word *sovereign* might not possibly have been applied to some of them, so as to make it unsafe to assert that we had never interfered as superior in succession to princes to whom we had given that title.’

general principles of justice, and not upon this treaty. Our claim to the reversion, however, can only come into operation when the heirs and successors are really extinct; and this must be decided by the law and usage of the country, not by our arbitrary will.

‘I am afraid I have tired you with my long discussion, but you may be consoled by the reflection that it is the last you will hear of it. I think it very doubtful whether Hume will get a House to listen to him; and if he does, there will probably be so much nonsense talked on both sides, that the real question will escape notice. I have just received the Report of the Proceedings of the Court of Proprietors on this question, and have only skimmed over parts of it. The case seems to be strongly put in Sullivan’s opening speech. The Court of Directors might give an easy answer to the calls for a reference to me and Grant Duff. It is not the intention of the agents of one of the parties that ought to influence the decision, but the words of the treaty, which were read and approved of by the principals on both sides. The evidence of the ministerial agents could only be of use if they could disclose any new facts showing that both parties had agreed to some tacit reservation, or had employed particular terms in a sense different from that usually put upon them. ‘Yours most sincerely,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

‘Waterloo Hotel, Feb. 13, 1850

‘My dear Colebrooke,—In answering your question as to the general opinion in India, while I was there, with respect to the relation between the British Government and the principal native states, especially our right to regulate their successions, I can only speak with certainty of my own impressions; but I believe they were those entertained by most of the other persons employed in transactions between our Government and the native states.

‘Our relations with the principal states (the Nizam, the Peshwa, Sindia, Holkar, and Raja of Berar, &c.) were those of independent equal Powers, and we possessed no right to inter-

fere in their successions, except such as were derived from our treaties with them, or our situation as a neighbouring state.

‘In many of the new alliances contracted in Lord Hastings’ time, an alteration was made in the footing on which the contracting parties stood, by the native State engaging to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, and these terms were introduced into treaties with some even of the principal states (those of the Rajpoot princes); but they do not appear to make any difference in the control of the British Government over successions. Their object was to secure the political supremacy of the British Government, not to assist its feudal sovereignty, and to obtain the *subordinate co-operation* of the native prince as an ally, not his subjection as a vassal. The British Government was to be supreme in all transactions with foreign States; but all internal affairs were to be regulated as before by the law and usage of the territory, free from any interference of the British Government. The succession, I conceive, was an internal affair, in which the British Government could not interfere, unless in a case which might affect the foreign relations of the State, or the general tranquillity of the country.

‘This, I conceive, was the general impression in India when I was in that country. There was no native state to which the recognition of its succession by the British Government was not of the highest importance; but none of them, I conceive, ever imagined that that Government had a right to regulate the succession as feudal lord, or had any pretensions to the territory as an escheat on the failure of heirs to the reigning family.

‘The above is my own conviction on a general view of the case, and I believe it was the opinion entertained in India in my time; but on this point it can be of no value if it does not agree with the views of my remaining contemporaries, or with those recorded by others at the time.

‘Believe me, &c.,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

It will not be supposed, from the tone of the preceding letters, that he took extreme views in opposition to the annexation policy, then at its height. The principal acts of Lord Dalhousie's administration, the annexation of the Punjaub and of Oude, received his approval. The last of these acts, which later events have shown to be very questionable in policy, were reviewed by him at the time, and I find in his journal some notes regarding them.

On October 26, 1855, he made the following entry:—

‘After dinner Melville read the essential points of Lord Dalhousie's minute on interference in Oude, and I admired the justice, moderation, and adherence to principle which it so strikingly marked.’ In December of the following year he returns to the subject:—

‘I have read the Blue-book on Oude, and am quite satisfied of the justice of the course adopted. I should have wished the plan proposed by Lord Dalhousie, of leaving the inhabitants of Oude, for whose benefit the government was to be changed, an opportunity of forming a new one for themselves, by withdrawing our interference. I thought, if no other good came of it, it would show the absolute necessity of our taking the decision on ourselves; and further, that it was expedient to go through all forms (even if this proved a mere form), so as to impede a hasty decision in favour of annexing an independent territory to our own.’

He expressed these views more fully in a letter to myself:—

‘Hookwood, May 4, 1856.

‘All I had to say about Oude might have been soon said if once begun. We owe particular forbearance and consideration to the princes of that family for their constant fidelity and even attachment to our alliance, as well as for the harshness (to say the least of it) of the treatment they received from us in imposing the treaty of 1801; but allowing full weight to these considerations, I think it was impossible for us to avoid changing the Government if we kept up any connection with it at all. Our own interests were much more closely connected with the

internal government of Oude than with that of our other subsidiary allies. We had also a distinct article in our last general treaty, that of 1801, stipulating for reform and subsequent attention to our advice, and this had never been allowed to become a dead letter, but was continually renewed and agitated, and was put into a most distinct shape by Lord W. Bentinck's illustration from the cases of the Carnatic and Tanjore, until at length Lord Hastings formally announced that only two years more would be allowed for the Government to reform its system, at the end of which time we should (in case of failure) take the government into our own hands. Two years and many more passed, the abuses became absolutely intolerable, and it seems to me to have been impossible for us, without a breach of faith to the people of the country, to support the system under which they suffered any longer. But it does not necessarily follow that because the people disliked their present government they had any predilection for ours. I should have liked to give the king the choice of ceding his territories to the Company, or governing them himself without any sort of connection with the British, except the protection of his territory from foreign conquest. If he chose the latter alternative, and his government is really in the state we believe it to be in, there must have been a revolution within a few months, the people would have been left to form a new government, and a fine opportunity would have been afforded of trying the principle so much insisted on by Munro and many others of the natural tendency in Asiatic monarchies to produce young and vigorous dynasties as the old ones become effete. When I speak of the people, I do not of course refer to any constitutional mode of ascertaining their wishes, but to the decision of those who represent or influence them in the present state of society; those who actually do settle all questions of disputed successions or changes of dynasty in countries where there are no subsidiary forces, no foreign interference. I am aware of the danger of leaving a country in the midst of our own territory to fall into complete anarchy, or into the hands of desperate adventurers like the Sikh soldiery in the first

Punjaub war, and I feel great diffidence in forming an opinion on the question ; but I cannot help thinking that, in the case of Oude, the experiment might be tried without any fatal consequences, though the result might be the same as that which would be produced more simply and directly by the arbitrary assumption of the government by the Company. You may be inclined to question many of the facts I have assumed in the above argument. I will not answer for them further than that they are all asserted in the most positive terms by the Residents, Councillors, and other authorities whose reports, minutes, &c., were laid before the Court of Directors, and never have been contradicted in any form. With regard to the state of the country, I particularly depend on General Lowe, whom I have always known as a most indulgent judge of native governments and an enemy to annexation, and who used, in the particular case of Oude, to maintain that the people preferred their present misrule to our strict and meddling system, and the insolence and extortion of chuprasses and other petty officials ; yet, after having been ten years and more Resident at Lucknow, he is now one of the most decided as to the impossibility of maintaining the present Government. Sleeman (the most vehement advocate of annexation) is said to be in general a still greater friend to native governments, but I know nothing of him personally. Outram had also the same predilection, but from his having seen little of Oude, and that at a particular crisis, his opinion cannot be so confidently relied on.

‘As this letter is written in great haste, as well as under the stupor I have complained of, I fear you may not be able to make sense of it.’

The following letter was addressed to me after the first war with the Sikhs :—

‘April 3, 1846,

‘I think we may be quite satisfied that Sir H. Harding has judged rightly in his decision about the Punjaub. I should have preferred the whole, if our settlement was likely to be as easily made as the other, but we have got the *best* part of the Punjaub, and it is as well to have a weak state between us and

the Affghans. It is probable that the present plan contributed to avoiding a war in the mountains. I suppose means will be taken to prevent absolute anarchy in the remaining territory of the Sikhs, and my "Chemistry for the Ladies" teaches me that it is better to make new combinations by slow fermentation than by combustion and explosion. 'M. E.'

After the second struggle with the Sikhs he wrote to me as follows:—

'I shall get the Blue-book about the Punjaub. The Sikhs have had a bright and brief career. It cannot be said to have begun till some years of this century had passed, and we may fairly reckon on its being now at an end.

'I have no doubt we are in the right in essentials in conquering the Punjaub. The only difficulty that struck me was the one you mention, our having admitted the treaty to be in force up to the day before the last battle. I suppose the fact is that our Government was willing to have gone on acting on it, provided the insurgents accepted the terms then offered. I take it for granted that the great majority of the military population took part against us, and that such of the chiefs as continued to adhere to us were destitute of the power to restrain their countrymen.'

I have before me abundant proofs of the active interest he took in Indian affairs to the last, as shown in his journal, and also in several memoranda prepared by him, and copied by his amanuensis. There are notes on the proposed changes of the Home Government of India, written in 1853, notes on the Report of the Bombay Society of Education for 1850-51, and some notes on Campbell's 'Modern India,' besides those already mentioned or quoted.

What is to me the most interesting reminiscence is the file of letters addressed to myself when Indian affairs were under the consideration of Parliament in 1853, and again in the years 1857 and 1858, especially during the latter period. I was anxious to have the benefit of his experience during that trying period, and he entered into all the details of the measures which were presented to Parliament by successive Governments,

Many of these letters treat of details which no longer have an interest, and I have selected those only which discuss matters of permanent importance.

‘Hookwood, January 3, 1854.

‘My dear Colebrooke,—Along with this letter, or soon after, you will receive the “Insurrection in China,” which I am ashamed of having kept so long. It is very interesting, as showing the character of the insurrection and the views of its leader. The hatred of the Tartar Government seems to have been far more general than could have been supposed. The misfortunes it experienced in its war with us increased its exactions at the same time that it disclosed its weakness, and resistance was sure to have arisen even if there had been no concert among the malcontents. What was wanting was a man of energy, who could devise a scheme by which the general excitement might be turned into one channel, and brought under the influence of a single will. The philosophy of Confucius seems to afford the only moral principle that had any hold on the minds of the people, but it could not supply enthusiasm and impulse for want of a religious sanction. To remedy this the leader (or leaders) engrafted on it a faith which was already making progress, and which, besides its intrinsic merit, was in harmony with the moral doctrines of Confucius, and well suited to the moderate and pacific character of the Chinese. It was a bold stroke to assume the direction of the power thus formed in the character of a divinity rather than an apostle, but we must suppose that the projector knew best what would suit his countrymen; indeed, the whole merit of the plan depends on the degree to which it is adapted to the state of popular opinion, and, in this instance at least, success or failure will be the real test of the genius of its contriver. The whole affair suggests some serious thoughts about India. It shows how the most systematic endeavour to amalgamate two races has failed after a trial of near two centuries, how little internal tranquillity and material prosperity have sufficed to reconcile the conquered nation to its foreign rulers, and how little reliance can be placed on apparent attachment

to a Government, even when it assumes the shape of filial affection combined with a sort of religious devotion. It also shows how little foreigners can judge of the real character of a nation. If there was one thing that we thought characteristic of the Chinese, it was their obstinate adherence to old habits; one would have thought that a Chinese would have changed his Government or his religion rather than have given up his pigtail, and now it proves that this very pigtail is among the worst of the grievances that have driven the nation into rebellion. All this leads to the reflection that there is nothing in India to prevent a new Nanik from uniting all the seemingly discordant elements in India, if any circumstance should reduce our military power even for a few years, and how difficult we should find it ever to recover our ascendancy. The moral is that we must not dream of perpetual possession, but must apply ourselves to bring the natives into a state that will admit of their governing themselves in a manner that may be beneficial to our interest as well as their own, and that of the rest of the world; and to take the glory of the achievement and the sense of having done our duty for the chief reward of our exertions.

‘I must make up for this unprovoked dissertation by abstaining from all other topics.’

‘Hookwood, September 9, 1857.

‘My dear Colebrooke,—I yesterday received your letter of the 5th, and the papers on the day before. I hope the account of Lord Canning’s indecision is overrated, though the story about Jung Behauder, *if accurate*, does not tell in his favour. The addresses of the European residents will no doubt help to increase the clamour against the Company which will be sure to arise from the natural tendency of the public to impute every disaster to the misconduct of the people in power. But notwithstanding the liability of the House of Commons to be carried away by the madness of the moment during a popular delusion, I don’t think either they or their constituents are so thoughtless as to sanction a revolution in the Government of India at a moment like the present. Leaving out all other

objections, only imagine the probable effect of announcing to people who have been driven into rebellion by the very thought of being made *Feringees*, that thenceforward their rights were to be secured by placing them under the immediate protection of the Queen, thus incorporating them with the British nation, and admitting them to a share in all the blessings by which it is distinguished from the nations of the East. Yet this is the language which many writers of the day recommend as a specific for soothing all minds, and removing all doubts and suspicions. There is a good article in yesterday's "Times" on the other side of the question, from which I suppose that they (the editors) believe the mind of the Ministry is made up to keep things as they are for the present. The last accounts from India are, doubtless, very gloomy; the risk of fresh interests and new feelings arising during the interval of inaction is certainly very great, and to one who has just read Munro's admirable *Minute*,⁵ it appears that the full accomplishment of his prophecy is at hand. But there is some comfort in the recollection how often foreign Governments have kept their ground in worse circumstances than ours. I will only mention the case of Rome, which was a much more oppressive Government than ours, and had tougher materials to work on in Spain and Gaul, and higher notions of freedom and national independence to contend with in Greece and her offsets, than we are ever likely to see among our Asiatic subjects. I have often wished to get some knowledge of the sort of administration by which the Romans contrived to fix their power on so firm a basis; but, although it is easy to find out the framework of a Government in a province, I do not find any clue to the means by which it was administered. I suppose that what we do know is equivalent to a knowledge of the constitutions of the presidencies in India, together with the law as administered by the Supreme Court, and a revenue system founded on farming to English capitalists; while all the details of legislation as well as administration were left to the natives, and managed by native princes or by

⁵ The 'Minute on the Effect of the Education of the Natives on the Army,' which had been lately republished.

local municipalities. Can you tell me where information on this subject is to be found? I suppose it must be well ascertained after all the researches by German and other scholars in late times. If you never read the account in Polybius of the mutiny of the mercenaries, which nearly overthrew the government of Carthage; it will interest you in the present time. It differed in its origin and many details from ours, but still you will be struck with the analogy in many particulars. I read it in Hampton's translation, where it is near the beginning of the first volume. It is not long.'

* Hookwood, December 20, 1857.

'My dear Colebrooke,—. . . I am not so much afraid of the constant interference of the House of Commons, as of its indifference in general, and its acting on impulse on particular occasions without any general acquaintance with the subject. I think both the House and the public generally come to just conclusions when they have time to consider them, such as is afforded by our *triple* Government in this country; but I am afraid to trust them with the prompt, simple, and direct exercise of power which is now thought so particularly desirable in India, a country in which, of all others, caution and gradual progress are most required. I hope that feeling will lose some of its force during the discussions that must take place in the approaching session. I think the ardour for the consolidation of territory, concentration of authority, and uniformity of administration which was lately so powerful, must have been a good deal damped by recent events. Where should we have been now, if Sindia, the Nizam, the Sikh chiefs, &c., had been *annexed*, the subordinate presidencies abolished, the whole army thrown into one, and the revenue system brought into one mould, whether that of Lord Cornwallis, Sir T. Munro, or even Mr. Thomason?

'I should be more anxious about the coming session if I were quite at ease about Lucknow; but I have a horror of street fighting, where discipline loses so much of its superiority over numbers, and I cannot help thinking what would be the con-

sequence of the defeat of the Commander-in-chief in person, even at the present stage of the war.'

'Hookwood, March 1, 1858.

'My dear Colebrooke,—Many thanks for your interesting letter. I do not see anything that can be done at present for the purpose of controlling the Governor-General, excepting strenuously resisting all attempts to give him the power of naming the members of Council, and keeping up the present plan of having all proceedings and *discussions* recorded and sent to this country.

'The fact is, I am more afraid of the Governor-General's being too much reduced under the new system than by his being made too strong. He is the link between the despotism of India and the *commonwealth* of England, and should possess power enough to command the highest respect, not only from foreign states, allies, and native subjects, but above all from our servants, civil and military, in India, and even to a certain extent from the Home Government. It is the last feeling that has made him the main bulwark of the patronage of India against the encroachments both of the Ministry and the Directors.

'The avowed tendency of Lord Palmerston's Bill is to increase and protect his authority, and I have no doubt it would do so for a time, while all concerned are on their good behaviour; but I am afraid things will be far otherwise after public attention has been withdrawn from India, and Ministers begin to look on that country as a means of strengthening their party at home.

'The immediate effect of such restraints as are likely to be imposed by the new system will be beneficial.

'The great grievance at present is the disregard of the Governors-General to the repeated injunctions of the Court of Directors against plans of conquest, and other modes of extending our territory. Such disregard is not likely to be tolerated on the new plan. The Minister for India will be the sole ostensible head of the whole administration of that empire, and it is not probable that he will be content to submit to the

obscurity which the President of the Board of Control used to court. His object used to be to avoid all disputes that might bring the separate action of the Ministry in Indian affairs before the House of Commons, and to do this he was obliged to deal with the Court of Directors in a way that weakened the authority of both, and left the Governor-General pretty nearly his own master. I imagine that the practice at that time was for the Court of Directors to check the Governor-General when they thought it right, and for the Board of Control to support him; that the Board generally carried its point, and that even when it gave way and allowed the official instructions to be drawn according to the wish of the directors, there was always a private correspondence between the President and the Governor-General, that emboldened the latter to pursue his own views without much fear of the consequences.

‘All this will now cease, and my fears are not for the present, but for the future, when attention will be withdrawn from India, and when a weak and unscrupulous Ministry may send out devoted adherents of its own to the Supreme Government, through whom it may employ the patronage of India for party purposes, supporting the measures of its creatures through thick and thin in return.

‘Against such a design no restrictions afforded by an exclusive service, examinations, competition, conditions of previous residence in India, &c., will be of the least avail. The public is always averse to monopolies, and will support all infractions of those protective regulations, which moreover will be introduced gradually and almost unperceived.

‘*March 2.*—The above was written yesterday, but my eyes got so tired, and my scrawl so illegible, that I thought it would be a relief to you, as well as to myself, to leave off, and have a fair copy made for your use. I am afraid you will find it very unsatisfactory after all. The only effectual check that I can see, either on the Governor-General or the Ministry at home, is a Board of Council, formed by election if possible, but at all events conducting its business entirely separate from the Minister for India. Even if we had such a Board there would

remain the difficulty of getting members who would take a lively interest in *India*, viewed separately from Great Britain, and who would attend to the peculiar views and wishes of the natives, as well as to their pecuniary interests and strictly legal rights. The Company did so to a considerable extent, because it had long regarded India as its own, and was strongly opposed to the maxim now in favour, of "*India for the English.*" Sooner or later we must introduce natives into the Council itself, or at least into the electing body, but to do so now would only produce contention and embarrass future operations.'

'Hookwood, March 15, 1858.

'My dear Colebrooke,—I hope the remodelling of the army will be very seriously considered. It is so complicated and so important a matter, that I scarcely think it can be settled without commissions both here and in India. If they were composed of few persons, and despatch insisted on, their report might be received before the end of the session. The abuse of patronage, and even the discontents of the Indian officers, fall into the shade amidst the vast speculations that are forced on our attention. For one example, only consider the effects, both near and remote, of having an army of 50,000 Europeans unconnected with that of Great Britain, without a constant circulation of British blood, without the society, the example, and even the control of the strictly national force; especially if colonisation succeed, and farms in the Himalaya become more attractive than pensions in England. The immediate danger would be a partial stratocracy like that attributed to the Bengal sepoys, and the remote ones would include the example of the Greeks in Bactria, or the janissaries in Algiers. A soldier in the present royal army knows when he enlists that he is only one man in 10,000, and that all the rest are jealous of the least attempt on his part to encroach on their rights; he lives in constant awe of the magistrate, the police, and even the mob, and no more thinks of opposing the civil government than of altering the course of nature. With this training he may be safely trusted for a long period in India, being subject to recall

at any time, and seeing regiments round him continually changing in the ordinary course of reliefs. But a recruit for an exclusively Indian army would be transferred at an early age to a country where he would be raised by his colour, as well as by some moral qualities, to undisputed superiority over the millions round him, while he himself would have no superior except a body of insolent and meddling civilians, whose power depended entirely on his support, and whom the slightest movement on his part would be sufficient to intimidate or remove. Where should we have been if such had been the state of feeling at the time of the Affghan war or the Sikh invasion, not to mention the mutiny of the Bengal sepoys?

‘Yours most sincerely,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

‘March 16.

‘My dear Colebrooke,—It is an odd coincidence that so soon after my last letter (perhaps before you have had time to read it) I should receive a letter written from the Pyrenees by an old military *political* with whom I had no previous correspondence on the subject, anticipating everything I had said about the Anglo-Indian army, and containing several further remarks that had not occurred to me.

‘I send you an extract of it, were it only that you might have the case put before you in a more legible hand than mine. The writer is a man of much ability, and what is more, much good sense.’⁶

“Pau, March 12.

“In all this talk of having only a European army in India, it never seems to strike any one that there is any danger of their combining. It will scarcely bear to be told, but there is danger, and the day may come when the natives may aid Europeans in shaking off the mother country, or taking a lesson from ourselves, conquer ourselves by ourselves. There

⁶ He afterwards informed me that the writer was Grant Duff, the historian of the Mahrattas.

are no greater *loochas* than Europeans who adopt native customs and ideas. All the European community, not in Government employ, are almost invariably its violent opponents and traducers. How easy to suppose a state of things where the European soldier might be seduced from his allegiance, especially after the country is still more studded with colonists, very many of whom are already said to be regular ruffians! I never can forget the men of the Bombay Artillery, from a ridiculous report of my being connected with the Madras mutiny, taking an opportunity to let me know that they were ready to *stand by their own officers*. We may think or talk as we may of the loyalty, &c. &c., of British troops; but large bodies of soldiers, of any description, are easily rendered seditious; and, even if there were no necessity, it would only be good policy to mix our Indian army, like our Indian regiments of native infantry, with such materials as are likely to prove a salutary counterpoise under all circumstances.”

‘Hookwood, March 25, 1858.

‘My dear Colebrooke,

‘To those who think a mutiny of Europeans chimerical, you may quote⁷ that of a handful of men who seized his Majesty’s castle and island of Bombay in 1683, then our only possession, and kept it against the Company for two years, though still professing allegiance to the King; the mutiny of the French troops, under D’Auteuil, in 1749, which changed Dupleix’s triumph into terror and consternation, and nearly nipped in the bud the grand design of bringing all India under the rule of France; the mutiny of the European part of the Bengal army in the face of an enemy under Clive, in 1766; that of the Madras army in 1776 (in which the Commander-in-chief took part), which deposed and imprisoned Lord Pigott; the all

⁷ Intending to press the Government to refer this question to a Commission, I asked Mr. Elphinstone to permit me to quote his views in the House of Commons. I had no occasion to move in the matter, as the Government appointed a Commission soon after these letters were written.

but mutiny of the Bengal officers in 1795-6; and that of a large portion of those of Madras against Sir G. Barlow in 1809. These were only partial mutinies, and in circumstances particularly unfavourable to malcontents, yet in all of them either a little less firmness or a little less moderation and concession on the part of the Government would have led to a contest that might have proved fatal to our Indian Empire. I only suggest these cases for inquiry, putting them down from memory.

‘I entirely agree with you as to the necessity of leaving the Governor-General the entire control of the Queen’s troops in India as he has now, the discipline and internal arrangements remaining as now with the Horse Guards, but I do not think it would be so difficult to settle the partition of the patronage as you seem to consider it. A similar distribution between the Governors and Commanders-in-chief at the several presidencies seems at first sight equally intricate, yet it has been settled by fixed rules so clearly that a difference on the subject hardly ever takes place. The great difficulty on this and on all other subjects arises from the supposed necessity of settling everything at once and without a moment’s delay. On this I can be no judge, but I own I do not see the necessity for so much haste, and am more struck with the advantage of allowing some time to pass over, if our own minds were already made up as to what ought to be done.

‘No resolution adopted at this time, on the proportion of European troops and sepoy, and the consequent organisation of the Indian army, could be permanent, and yet you justly view that question as one of the utmost importance. We must of course have a large sepoy army, but we cannot at present judge what proportion it should be allowed to bear to the Europeans. At present that latter portion must be very considerable, and even when quiet is completely restored I do not think it can ever be made nearly as low as it was before the Mutiny. It was then, I think, under 50,000, and in estimates for this year I believe it is taken at 92,000 men. Who can guess how many we shall require three years hence (even if tranquillity be undisturbed)? Whether we wish it or not, our government

will assume a more decidedly European character than it has yet borne, and we cannot be quite certain what the effect may be either on the whole or particular classes of the natives.

‘Yours most sincerely,

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

‘Hookwood, April 30, 1858.

‘My dear Colebrooke,—What is chiefly wanted of the Council is that it shall supply the place of the Court of Directors in protecting the interests, opinions, and feelings of the natives against the conflicting interests, opinions, and feelings of the ruling people. However selfish the original motive of this jealousy of European encroachment may have been on the part of the Directors, it became their “*traditional policy*,” and has been one great cause of their unpopularity. Now I think the maintenance of this policy is exactly the line which a well-selected Council of Indians would choose for their peculiar province. Their other duty would be to guard against attempts of the Ministry to undermine the Constitution, or to take steps *directly* injurious to the interest of the British. This they would not neglect, but they would feel how little their aid was wanted at a time when the popular element of the Constitution was so decidedly in the ascendant; while in undertaking the protection of the Indian nation they would have a vast field for usefulness and distinction which at present is almost entirely unoccupied. It is indeed astonishing, considering how much our own safety depends on the contentment of our Indian dependants, that in all the late discussions there has not been a single speaker of note, except Gladstone, that has laid the least stress on this part of the subject. They probably rely on the Indian Government for looking to public opinion among the natives; but what could the strongest Indian Government do against a clamour for levying a new tax (say an income tax) on India, to make up for the deficit occasioned by *its own expenses*, including the Persian and Chinese wars, and many other charges in which the people of India take quite as little concern?’

Hookwood, October 26, 1858.

‘My dear Colebrooke,—I am very much obliged for Mr. Samuells’ letter. It is by far the best view of the general posture of our affairs that I have seen. I agree in all his opinions except about delaying the amnesty, and even on that head I have some doubts, because I wish that when granted it should be complete, except as to a few individuals who should be named.

‘I am afraid, from what I hear on all sides, that Lord Canning is open to some of the objections made to him; but what other man have we now from whom we could expect greater perfection? The accumulation of despatch boxes, and the stagnation of business, is a lively copy of the picture one used to have of the most brilliant of his predecessors during the crisis of the war with Holkar (1805). We must remember also that he was on a scene entirely new to him, and that, from the inseparable combination of the political and military affairs, he was obliged to keep both in his own hands; while it was justly thought an instance of the utmost boldness and vigour in Lord Wellesley to entrust the whole of his own powers to the commander of the army in the field, so that “General Harris carried with him to the gates of Seringapatam the whole powers of the British Government in India.” I hope that military operations will be over before the new year, and that we shall once more have at least apparent tranquillity, though never “that sweet sleep which we owed yesterday.”’

The preceding letters show no sign of failing powers. Though unequal to any sustained effort, his mind retained much of its vigour, and all its freshness, to the last. With increasing years came new infirmities; and I find in the later journals many allusions to failure of memory, of voice, and of hearing, which precluded him from the same enjoyment of the society of friends as in former years. They are mentioned in no querulous tone. The only complaint that I have met with is addressed to himself, akin to his old self-reproaches which I have had to remark upon in a former volume. There are some passages referring to the loss of friends. So far back as

August 1841 he had to record the death of a sister, 'the last of his seven brothers and sisters;' and from that time notes of the loss of friends follow fast, and on one of his last visits to London he was painfully affected at his isolation in the generation around him. In July 1858 he wrote: 'I have never felt so strongly as during this visit to London how completely I am separated from the present generation. Not only do I constantly drop old acquaintances, but when I do meet with one unexpectedly, I am surprised to find him alive, and almost startled at the sight. The wonder is that I have so much in common with the new generation. To a man now of the age at which I was when I left England in 1795, that period must appear as 1732 did *then* to me, that is, when Sir Robert Walpole was at the height of his power, before Pope had finished the "Dunciad," and while Swift was writing "Hamilton's bawn," when his wit and vivacity was still in full force.'

These reminders of the ills which accompany old age are balanced by notes of joyful meetings with old friends. On one of his visits to London he made the following entry: 'I sat a long time with Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie, and renewed my youth by talking over old times;' and I find somewhat later a similar expression of pleasure which he received from a visit from Lady Adam and some of her family: 'The whole visit was delightful. It was a sort of revival to me.' In the same year, 1856, there is a delightful notice of a visit from one of his nieces with her children; and I find in the June which preceded his death the notice of a visit from several of his nearest relations, some arriving unexpectedly; one of the party carried his thoughts back to his earliest days.

'Every one of the visitors was individually most agreeable; Mrs. A. Thompson above all, as, independent of her general merits which make her a favourite with everybody, she was, I may almost say, a contemporary of my own, and recollected all the persons, places, and incidents in which I took an interest up to the time when I went to India. She was then (1795) in her tenth year, and I in my sixteenth.'

He kept up to the last the practice of making notes of his reading. Though he was never blind, he could neither read nor write for any time continuously without suffering pain, and he had to rely on the aid of a reader for many years. The entries in the journal latterly became short and irregular. On only one occasion during the last year are there any sustained remarks on the book he had in hand, and these were suggested by Sir G. Lewis's essay on the government of dependencies. By far the greater portion of his notes are on Indian questions that interested the public at the time. The journals throughout are reticent on religious subjects, but when the subject is referred to they breathe a spirit of resignation and reliance on his Maker. I give insertion to the following passage, which, though not belonging to the later entries, will show the spirit in which he approached these subjects:—

'*April 6, 1846.*—I have just read Pope's Universal Prayer, almost the first prayer I ever learned, and the one I should wish last to utter. Every word it contains is what I could say from the heart, and the omissions which I have seen it blamed for seem to me among its greatest merits. In many prayers, even in those of the Church, there is an apparent belief that God is to be won by praises, and influenced by entreaties and ejaculations, not by their fervour, but their frequent repetition. Much reliance is also placed on strong professions of faith in orthodox opinions, and there is an appearance almost impious of establishing a separate interest with the second Person of the Trinity. I have heard prayers in which this is carried so far as to remind one of the common people in Catholic countries, who try to pique the pride of the Virgin, and to show how much her honour is concerned in the accomplishment of petitions addressed through her. The effect of these abuses is to raise a doubt whether it is not presumptuous to pray at all; whether you can instruct omniscience, even as to your wishes, and whether you can increase the bounty of perfect benevolence. But prayer is useful for its influence, not on the Divinity, but on the suppliant. As in Pope's prayer, it points out that you have duties to perform, and that they are imposed

by a Being to whom you owe every sentiment of love and gratitude. In this lies the vast importance of devotion: it recalls your thoughts to your duties, and kindles a zeal for the performance of them which mere reflection could never inspire. In this one sees all the wisdom of fixed periods of worship, and even for written forms. A devout man might never forget his Creator and a philosopher might give habitual attention to his duties (though even then his thoughts would turn to those to which he was already attracted, and to which he required no new excitement), but the bulk of mankind would not look beyond their daily pursuits; and if they did address petitions to the Divinity, it would be on worldly or selfish interests, which it would be better they should forget. A written service shows to all what ought to be their wishes, and the frequency and solemnity of its repetition cannot fail to leave an impression on their minds.'

I have now to bring this narrative to a close. A friend writing to me after his death said that in his last visit to Hookwood, some time in 1859, he noticed for the first time a painful consciousness of the decay of his faculties and a dread of the increasing burden of existence. From this he was mercifully spared. His passage was short and painless. He was seized by paralysis on the night of November 20, 1859, and a servant who heard the fall found him insensible. In a few hours he passed away. He was buried at Limpsfield, in the churchyard which adjoins the grounds of Hookwood, and the same spot was soon to receive the remains of his nephew, Lord Elphinstone, who desired to be laid by his side.

On the announcement of his death, steps were instantly taken to consider the most appropriate mode of testifying respect for his services, and a meeting was held in Willis's Rooms in the following February, which recorded in emphatic terms its recognition of his eminent public services, and the desire of the meeting to raise a permanent memorial in his honour.

Among those who took a part on this occasion I find the honoured names of English statesmen: Sir C. Wood, [†]—

Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Ellenborough, and the present Lord Derby ; while India was represented by Sir J. Lawrence, Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Colonel Sykes, and Mr. Grant Duff. The two last named were the only representatives of the band of public men with whose aid he won a name in history. Colonel Sykes served under him, and Mr. Grant Duff was the son of one of the ablest of his assistants during the crisis at Poona, and in the administration of the country after its conquest. To such an extent had he survived his contemporaries.

It was decided to erect a statue in his honour, and one by Noble was afterwards placed in the Cathedral of St. Paul's.

I am in hopes that in the imperfect narrative which I now offer to the public the reader will discern some of the nobler features of his character. There was in him the union of two natures : the one manly, energetic, and full of enterprise, the other having all the tenderness and shrinking from display that belong to the other sex. So, too, with regard to his intellectual qualities, perhaps the most remarkable characteristic was the union of much sobriety and even caution in his judgment with a vividness of imagination that is usually supposed to be incompatible with it. His love for poetry amounted to a passion. He would discuss his favourite authors with the enthusiasm of a boy ; and one of the last occasions on which he left home on any tour of pleasure was to visit in Cornwall the scenes of King Arthur's battles. There was in him a tinge of enthusiasm, which, as I have already mentioned, led him when young to cherish dreams of ambition of the wildest kind. His imaginative powers, cherished by his love of poetry, affected his daily thoughts, and gave a grace and charm to his conversation, but never warped his judgment. The late Allan Cunningham, many years ago in Chantrey's studio, while passing the cast of Mr. Elphinstone's statue, made a remark to me which I have often thought of since : ' He was a just-thinking man.' In his public papers, as in his literary works, there is a moderation of tone that hardly does justice to the decisive character of the

man. No one who conversed with him would mistake this moderation for doubt or weakness. But, in truth, his intellectual qualities were subordinate, and in some measure the fruit of his rare moral endowments. He was at once humble-minded and single-minded, and, like the General whom he served in his youth, his one thought was of duty. Many years ago a friend was reading to him a letter from an eminent public servant in India, placed in a situation of singular difficulty and worn out with anxiety, describing a step he was about to take attended with some hazard, and his recklessness of consequences to himself. Mr. Elphinstone broke in, 'Is it possible he could think of himself at such a moment?' This forgetfulness of self, which made Mr. Elphinstone so truly public-minded, was the charm of his private life, and constituted a character at once to be admired and loved.

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